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THE MIDDLE VOICE IN THE *DE SENECTUTE*.

In a paper on "The Nature of the Latin Passive in the Light of Recent Discoveries,"¹ the writer advanced the theory that in Latin, as in other Indo-European languages, the passive is essentially a development of the inherited middle voice. It is a specialization, in appropriate context, of the reflexive, or intransitive, meaning of the Indo-European middle.

In Classical Latin the middle voice is in fact in much more vigorous and living use than is generally recognized. The purpose of the present paper is to examine the *De Senectute* of Cicero, in the manner of an archaeologist sinking a trial shaft in a site to be explored, with a view to illustrating by specific instances the lively and expressive character of middle uses of the so-called "passive" in idiomatic Latin prose of the best period.

The subject indeed suggested itself to me in the course of my experience in teaching the *De Senectute* in six successive springs to undergraduate classes at Barnard College. Again and again it seemed necessary to take so-called "passive" verb forms as reflexive or intransitive in meaning, that is, as used in a middle sense, in order to get a satisfactory and natural interpretation of the text. Since the *Cato Maior* not only is one of the latest and most finished of Cicero's works, but also on account of its form as a dialogue has a somewhat colloquial character, it appeared to me admirably adapted in style to such a scientific experiment.

In this quest editors of the *De Senectute* are as a rule of

¹ *A. J. P.*, XLVIII (1927), pp. 157-75.

little assistance. Obvious examples of the middle voice are commonly passed over *sub silentio*. So for instance when Cato cites the familiar proverb: *pares . . . cum paribus facillime congregantur* (7),² they note the fact that the idea is as old at least as the *Odyssey* (17, 218), but say nothing about the very striking use of the reciprocal middle in *congregantur*. This is due, I believe, not so much to the fact that such examples are obvious as to what I have elsewhere called "the influence of the traditional paradigmatic conceptions of the Latin language, with its conjugations neatly arranged in parallel columns showing passive forms opposite all the active forms."³ Or, as Wackernagel puts it, in his very illuminating discussion of Latin voice usage in his *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1926), p. 130: "(im Latein) wo man doch in der Regel nur von Aktiv und Passiv zu reden pflegt."

Harpers' Latin Dictionary I have found much more serviceable, generally speaking, in the interpretation of middle forms of the Latin verb, than editorial comment. This greater alertness, or shall we call it "voice-consciousness," on the part of the dictionary may be caused by the fact that the lexicographer, being face to face with the necessity of giving an English equivalent for the verb-forms that he actually finds in the language, cannot very well ignore the circumstance that such a form as *congregantur*, for instance, in the proverb just quoted, simply is not passive. Our English equivalent here is of course, "Birds of a feather flock together," which is in no sense passive. *Harpers' Dictionary* is, however, quite inconsistent in the matter of recognizing middles, so that the attentive reader must depend largely on his own observation and interpretation.

The present study is limited in the main to finite forms of the present system—the so-called *r*-forms. So far as the perfect medio-passive system is concerned, it is well-known that the participle in *-tos* is capable of an active or middle meaning as well as passive; for example, *usus* "using one's self" by means of something (middle), *potus* "having drunk" (active), *amatus* "loved" (passive). Yet it is prevailinglly passive, except when

² All references to the *De Senectute* are to sections of the text in the edition of Frank Gardner Moore (New York, 1903).

³ See "The Middle Verb *videri*," *Lang.*, XVIII (1942), p. 27.

associated with a deponent verb. The non-finite forms, furthermore, are a story in themselves and will be called upon in this paper chiefly for purposes of comparison or illustration.

It is highly significant that the *r*-forms of reflexive or neutral meaning which my exploratory shaft has discovered in the *Cato Maior* fall naturally into the categories set up by Delbrück for Indo-European *Media tantum*.

Proof that the interpretation as middle is the correct one is sometimes supplied by the context. So in § 78, where Cato is justifying his faith in the immortality of the soul, his second argument, from the mind as a source of motion, absolutely turns on the reflexive, or middle, sense of the verb form *agitur*. "Quid multa?" says Cato, "sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem, cumque semper agitur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus." The whole point of his argument depends not merely on the idea of the perpetual motion of the soul but on the notion that the soul is constantly stirring itself up, *semper agitur*. Any assumption of an external force by which the mind is stirred would spoil the argument. The mind has no "beginning of movement," *principium motus*, because it sets itself in motion, and so it will have no end of motion either, because it is never going to abandon itself. The entirely unambiguous expressions with the reflexive pronoun, *quia se ipse moveat* and *quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus*, thus give us Cicero's own interpretation of the middle form *agitur*.

Not quite so clearcut, yet strikingly similar, is the use of the middle of the verb of which *agitari* is the frequentative, in a passage in the *De Natura Deorum*: *Nam omne quod est calidum et igneum ciatur et agitur motu suo*, "For everything which is hot and fiery sets itself in motion and drives itself by its own movement" (*N. D.*, II, 23). In like manner Lucretius, using the middle of the same verb, says of the reflection from a mirror with curving sides that perhaps "the image whirls itself around after it has come because the curving shape of the mirror teaches it to turn itself toward us":

aut etiam quod
circum agitur, cum venit, imago propterea quod
flexa figura docet speculi convertier ad nos

(IV, 339-41).

Here, if there were any doubt, the use in the same sentence of the very common middle verb *convertier*, which is indeed a quasi-deponent, like *revertor*, "turn one's self back, return," confirms the lively, reflexive turn of phrase. The poet, as so often, half personifies the elements of nature of which he is speaking. With similar reflexive force the middle voice of *ago* is used in Lucretius of the "driving" of the blasts which come from the chill polar stars: *flabra . . . quae gelidis ab stellis axis aguntur* (VI, 720) and in Livy of the rushing of a crowd: *Ipse . . . ad castra Samnitium perrexit, quo multitudo omnis consternata agebatur* (X, 29, 14).

Another passage, in which the context is equally decisive, occurs in § 71 where Cato, in speaking of the gentle "going out" of the life of an old man, uses the middle voice of the verb *exstinguo*. Very beautifully he says: "Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur"; "When young men die, it is, it seems to me, as when a powerful flame is put out by a great mass of water, but when old men die, it is as when of its own accord without any force being applied a fire that has spent itself goes out." Here, in his note on the passage, Moore, rather oddly, comments on the middle force of the participle, "*consumptus*: in a middle sense; the ordinary meaning being expressly excluded by *nulla adhibita vi*," but says nothing about the middle finite verb *exstinguitur*. Its reflexive character is, however, equally obvious. The flame of the young man's life is violently put out—how tragically has that been true on many a battlefield—while the more feeble fire of the old man's life simply "goes out" of its own accord, without the need of applying any external force.⁴ Indeed, the middle force of

⁴ A similar figure occurs in English poetry in a lovely quatrain of Walter Savage Landor:

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife;
Nature I loved; and next to Nature, Art.

exstinguitur is triply reënforced by the three phrases, *sua sponte* "of its own accord," *nulla adhibita vi* "no violence having been applied," and *consumptus* "having spent itself." Cicero is a very clear writer and in this striking passage he seems to have taken special pains to make Cato's beautiful image crystal clear.

Another instance of illuminating context occurs in the passage, likewise containing a striking and beautiful comparison, where the speaker in expressing the differing attitudes of youth and age toward pleasures, employs three times the middle form *delectatur* "takes delight in," "enjoys." To convey the full force of the contextual atmosphere, I must quote the whole short paragraph in which this form is found:

Quod si istis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis quibus senectus, etiamsi non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est (48).

Here the first point to be noted is that *delectatur* "delights in" is closely paralleled in the second sentence of the paragraph by the deponent verb *laetatur*, which is indeed simply substituted once for *delectatur* in order to avoid an awkward use of the same verb, *delectatur*, four times in succession, just as in the first sentence *potitur* is gracefully put once as a synonym of *fruitur*, which otherwise would occur three times in a row. In the one case we have the verbal arrangement *a, a, b*, in the other, *a, a, b, a*—a striking illustration incidentally of the highly-wrought artistry of Cicero's prose. This rhetorical device, involving as it does the use in the same sentence of the deponent verb *laetatur* as a synonym of *delectatur*, is in itself, it seems to me, conclusive; for it gives us virtually Cicero's own interpretation of the verb form in question as middle, not passive.

But a second point, equally important, is that the syntax of *Turpione Ambivio*, without a preposition, excludes the idea that it could be ablative of the agent with a passive verb. It is true

I warm'd both hands against the fire of life;

It sinks, and I am ready to depart

(*Dying Speech of an Old Philosopher*).

that Lane's *Latin Grammar*, for instance, under the rubric of the ablative of the personal agent, has the following statement: ⁵ "When the person is represented as a mere instrument, the ablative is used without *ab*," and cites as an illustrative example a sentence containing this very verb *delecto* in a different tense: *neque vero minus Plato delectatus est Dione*, and translates it, "and Plato on his part was just as much bewitched with Dion." But this only shows what shifts grammarians are reduced to through failure to recognize the living force of the Latin middle.

In the first place *delecto* does not mean "bewitch" but "delight," "please," and in the middle "take pleasure in," "enjoy." The verb occurs some nine times in the dialogue in various middle forms and Allen and Greenough, in their edition of the *De Senectute*,⁶ render *delectari* (14) "enjoy," *delectantur* (26) "find pleasure in," *delectatur* (48—the passage under discussion) "enjoys," and *incredibiliter delector* (51) "I take a marvellous delight." I may add that a similar meaning must clearly be given to *delector* in § 85: *Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortales esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo*, "But if I am mistaken in believing the soul of man to be immortal, I am willingly mistaken and do not want this mistake, in which I take pleasure, to be wrested from me while I am alive." In the second place it is hardly consonant with Plato's dignity to say he was bewitched with Dion. He took a dear delight in him because through him he hoped to realize in a measure on this earth his divine dream of an ideal republic.

But the truth is that the verb *delecto* has a strong tendency toward reflexive significance either with the reflexive pronoun or in middle forms. So for example in *De Finibus*, I, 3: *Etenim si delectamur cum scribimus, quis est tam invidus qui ab eo nos abducat? Sin laboramus, quis est qui alienae modum statuatur industriae, si delectamur* evidently means "if we enjoy ourselves" when we are writing, as is shown by the contrast with *sin laboramus* "but if we find it a task." *Delectamur* here is virtually glossed by the reflexive expression, *nos delectabimus* in

⁵ 1477 and (a).

⁶ Cicero, *De Senectute* (*Cato Major*): *A Dialogue on Old Age*, edited by J. H. and W. F. Allen and J. B. Greenough (Boston, 1886).

Ad Att., II, 4, 2: *interea cum Musis nos delectabimus aequo animo* (cf. *cum Musis delectari*, Hyginus, *Astr.*, II, 27). With a different prefix the same verb is used in the *Cato Maior* with the reflexive pronoun of the enjoyment of the pleasures of farming: *Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant* (56).

The true character of its so-called passive forms appears vividly in another passage in Cicero, where the context is unmistakably determinative. In *In Pisonem*, 20, we find: *his ego rebus pascor, his delector, his perfruor*. Here the middle verb *delector* is flanked on the one side by the quasi-deponent *pascor*, on the other by the pure deponent *perfruor* and governs the ablative just as its companions do: "On these things I feed myself, with these things I delight myself, with these things I thoroughly enjoy myself." One might indeed call *delector* a deponent, but since it has an active in use I prefer to call it middle.

A highly significant fact, however, in connection with our discussion of this interesting verb is its occurrence as a full-fledged deponent in two places in Petronius. In the *Cena Trimalchionis*, 45, 7 we find *delectaretur* used as a transitive deponent: *cum dominam suam delectaretur*. Sedgwick, in his edition of the *Cena* (Oxford, 1925) comments: "*delectaretur*: deponent for active, 'was making himself agreeable to'." Sedgwick's rendering well brings out the inherently reflexive meaning of the form, though he calls it "deponent for active." It is rather a transitive use of the middle. Later on we have a second instance of this transitive deponent use: *et sane iam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere totumque triclinium esse mutatum, cum Trimalchio "tibi dico" inquit "Plocame, nihil narras? nihil nos delectaris"* (64, 2). The occurrence of this deponent usage is of course especially interesting on account of the extremely colloquial character of Petronius' Latin. It shows that the reflexive tendency of this particular verb was not only literary but also ingrained in the popular consciousness.

The whole paragraph quoted above is moreover strongly "middle" in meaning. If we omit *diximus*, which is parenthetical, and *est*, which is a mere copula, there are nine finite verbs in the section and of these only two are active. The other seven are all either deponents or in the middle voice. And we

should not forget, though it is too often forgotten, that all deponents were originally middles. First we have twice *fruitur*—youth “enjoys itself” by means of pleasures. This verbal idea is naturally reflexive. Cf. French *s’amuser*, German *sich vergnügen*, Italian *dilettarsi*. Even in English we “enjoy ourselves.” Then comes *potitur*, which, as Moore rightly says (in his note *ad loc.*), is here equivalent to *fruitur*. Next we have the striking series of three *delectatur*’s gracefully varied by a single instance of *laetatur*, which, as I pointed out above, is in this context a synonym of *delectatur*. The entire passage is thus seen to be suffused with a sense of that personal interest of the subject in the action which is indeed, according to Gildersleeve, the most distinctive nuance of meaning that adheres to the middle voice.⁷ And what theme could be more suited to bring out the expressive affective character of that voice than that of pleasure, which our author is here discussing—the *dux vitae dia voluptas*?

Another passage in the *De Senectute* where the picturesque expressiveness of the middle voice is especially prominent is the delightful description in chapter 15 of the pleasures of farmers: *Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector*, “I come now to the pleasures of farmers, in which I take a marvellous delight.” In the sentence beginning *quae* (i. e. *terra*) *cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen exceperit*, not only is Mother Earth half personified, but what gives particular charm to the description is the lively way in which Cato (whom Cicero represents, not very realistically, as almost a poet-farmer) lends personality and purpose to the growing grain itself. This is effected partly by the use of the verbs *adulescit* and *pubescens*, but also through the deponent participle *nixa* “supporting itself,” the middle participle *erecta* “lifting itself up,” and the finite middle forms *includitur* “it begins to shut itself in” and *munitur* “it fortifies itself.” A translation will make this clear: “(terra) elicit herbescentem ex eo (i. e. semine) viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; ex quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum,”

⁷ *Syntax of Classical Greek*, Part I, § 145.

"(the earth) entices from the seed a greenness taking on the form of blades, which supporting itself on the fibres of its stalks imperceptibly grows up and lifting itself by means of its jointed stem presently as if coming of age begins to shut itself in sheaths; and when it has emerged from these it brings forth the grain arranged with the regularity of an ear and fortifies itself against the bites of the smaller birds with a rampart of bristles."

The middle force of *erecta* is glossed by *ut se erigat* (52) used later in the chapter of the growing vine. And for *munitur* "fortifies itself" an excellent parallel is furnished by Lucretius, II, 537-8:

*anguimanus elephantos, India quorum
milibus e multis vallo munitur eburno,*

"the snake-handed elephants from whose many thousands India fortifies herself with an ivory palisade." That *munitur* really is middle in sense in our passage, in the *De Senectute*, is proved by the phrase *contra avium minorum morsus*, which clearly expresses purpose. So in the Lucretian passage Mother India is doubtless personified and represented as fortifying herself with a rampart of snake-handed elephants. The fact that *munio* is used by Cicero with the reflexive pronoun further confirms its tendency toward the reflexive idea. So: *munio me ad haec tempora* (*Ad Fam.*, IX, 18, 2) and: *etiam sine hac Pyladea amicitia multorum te benevolentia praeclare tuebere et munies* (*Fin.*, II, 84); so also in Tacitus: *saevus ille vultus et rubor quo se contra pudorem muniebat* (*Agr.* 45).

A little further on in the same chapter we find the middle infinitive *satiari*: *Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis quietem oblectamentumque noscatis*. In the next sentence we have the middle *generantur* of the things which spring out of the earth, *quae generantur e terra*. And in the same paragraph, in speaking of the culture of the vine, old Cato aided by the middle voice, the reflexive pronoun, and the deponent verb, imparts the same affectionate personification to the growing vine that he gave in the earlier part of the chapter to the growing grain: "Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta complectitur," "The vine,

which by nature is inclined to fall and unless it is supported drops to the ground, in order to lift itself up uses its tendrils like hands and embraces whatever it has got hold of." Here we have the very common middle *fertur*, the reflexive phrase *se erigat*, and the deponents *nacta* and *complectitur*, triply reënforcing the vivid and loving quality of the poet-farmer's description.⁸ The sentence ends with another picturesque middle *fundatur*: *coërcet ars agricolarum, ne [vitis] silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur*, "lest the vine should grow woody with twigs and pour itself rankly in every direction."

And in the opening sentence of the next section the farmer extends his quasi-personification to the grape itself: "*exsistit . . . ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores.*" In this sentence there is again a thoroughly "middle" atmosphere, just as in § 48, discussed above. This is brought about partly by the use of inceptive verbs, which are often associated with the middle voice because of the similarity of meaning. So here we have *exsistit*, *augescens*, *dulcescit*. Then there is a series of three participles, the first, deponent, *oriens*, the other two middle, *maturata* "having ripened [itself]," "having grown ripe" and *vestitaque pampinis* "having clothed itself with vine-shoots" (cf. the habitual use of middle forms of Greek ἀμφιέννυμι). There is finally the reflexive phrase *uva se ostendit*. The literary artist thus gives us, by means of varied strokes of the brush, in the complete picture an imaginative personification first of *gemma* "the bud" and then of *uva* "the grape" from the time when the bud first comes into being (*exsistit*) till the fully formed grape, now perfectly capable of managing its own affairs, wards off its enemies (*nimios solis defendit ardores*).⁹

⁸ Note the striking similarity, especially in the use of middles, deponents, and reflexive expressions, between this passage, where Cicero is describing so vividly the efforts of the baby vine, and his charming description in the *De Finibus* (quoted under *congregari*, p. 207) of the ways of human babies.

⁹ Ennius (in *Tusc.*, I, 69):

Vitēs laetificae pámpinis púbescere

seems to indulge in a similar quasi-personification of the vine.

In discussing in detail some of the more picturesque and unmistakable middles, as they occur in the dialogue in contexts that are often illuminating, I have tried to show that in Ciceronian Latin at its ripe perfectest the middle voice is both a living reality of the language and an artistic means of expression. In the following presentation I have listed all the fairly certain finite middle *r*-forms which I have found in the *Cato Maior*, together with illustrative parallels, grouping them according to three of the five categories set up by Delbrück for Indo-European Media tantum.¹⁰

Verbs of Motion

agitari

cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus (78).

Besides the discussion of this middle above (see p. 195) compare the excellent parallel in Cicero, *N. D.*, II, 42: "Sidera autem aetherium locum obtinent; qui quoniam tenuissimus est et semper agitur et viget, necesse est, quod animal in eo gignatur, id et sensu acerrimo et mobilitate celerrima esse." In this passage the middle character of *agitur*, already suffi-

¹⁰ *Vergleichende Syntax*, pp. 419-25. Delbrück's first class, of which Greek ἵμαι and κείμαι are typical, has no representative in Latin. For the idea "sit" Latin uses derivatives of the root *sed*, which, according to Delbrück, probably had originally only active forms, rather than of *ēs*, which was of middle inflection. And the root of Greek κείμαι seems to belong to the eastern dialects of Indo-European; cf. Ernout et Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 228: "La racine de gr. κείμαι n'est pas représentée dans les dialectes occidentaux." For Delbrück's second group, which embraces verbs "die einen Vorgang am menschlichen Körper (etwas, das einem passiert) ausdrücken," I have noted no representative in the *De Senectute*. Possibly *exerceri* (50), which is certainly middle (cf. Moore, in his note *ad loc.*, "*exerceri*: middle sense") might be considered to belong to this category, though it could also be regarded as a verb of motion. In any case I have not included it since I am listing only the finite forms. To Delbrück's second class, which includes "die zahlreichen Wörter, welche bedeuten einen Ton von sich geben, eine Äusserung thun," would belong the common Latin deponent verb *loquor*, which occurs several times in our dialogue, and also *adfatur* (1). *Loquor* is an ancient, inherited middle; cf. Old Irish *atluchur*. And so is *adfatur*; cf. Homeric Greek φάτο.

ciently obvious from the context, is made even clearer by the immediately following intransitive verb *viget*, which is practically a gloss on *agitatur*. In an earlier passage in the same essay, however, we find *agitetur* used in a passive sense and contrasted with a middle use of *moveatur*: *esse autem divinius, quod ipsum ex se sua sponte moveatur, quam quod pulsu agitetur alieno* (*N. D.*, II, 32). From these two instances of the same verb used now in a middle and now in a passive sense it is easy to see how naturally the passive significance could develop from the inherited middle.

ferri

Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram (52).

Cf. the discussion of the context already given (see pp. 201-2). In addition to the points mentioned there it is to be noted that the adjective *caduca* "inclined to fall" virtually glosses *fertur ad terram* "falls to the ground."

The middle character of "passive" forms of *fero* (corresponding to the common Greek middle *φέρωμαι* and Sanskrit middle *bharate*) is fully recognized in *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*, where numerous examples are cited. In Virgil, so far as I have observed, the *r*-forms of *fero* are almost always middle in meaning. In the first hundred lines of Book III of the *Aeneid*, for example, there are five occurrences of *feror* as practically a simple verb of motion: *feror exsul in altum* (11), "I pass as an exile upon the deep"; *feror huc, et litore curvo/ moenia prima loco* (16-17), "I go [or, sail] hither, and on the curving beach place my first walls"; *et vox reddita fertur ad aures* (40, cf. 93), "and an answering voice comes to my ears"; *huc feror* (78), "hither I go." So in *Aeneid*, II, 725: *ferimur per opaca locorum*, "we pass along the shadowy places." In Lucretius also middle forms of *fero* are frequent and expressive; so for example of a rushing mountain stream:

nec ratione fluunt alia [venti] stragemque propagant
et cum mollis aquae fertur natura repente
flumine abundanti

(I, 280-2).

This is translated by W. H. D. Rouse (in the Loeb Classical

Library text): "and they flow and they deal devastation in the same way as water: which soft as it is, suddenly rolls in overwelling stream." It should be noted that *fertur* exactly parallels the two intransitive verbs, *fluunt*, in the preceding verse, and *ruit* in 289: *ruit [amnis] qua quidquid fluctibus obstat*. The parallelism is made perfect by the poet himself who sums up the whole magnificent passage in verse 290, where the middle verb *ferri* reappears:

sic igitur debent venti quoque flamina ferri.

But the middle use of *feror* is by no means confined to poetic diction. It occurs even in Caesar's pure prose style, usually of rapid motion, whether of human beings rushing hither and yon, as in *B. C.*, III, 78, 2: *ad eum omni celeritate et studio incitatus ferebatur* (cf. *B. G.*, II, 24, 3), or of the rushing river Rhine: *Rhenus . . . citatus fertur* (*B. G.*, IV, 10, 3).¹¹

¹¹ Cf. my paper, "The Indo-European Middle Ending -r," *Lang.*, XIV (1938), p. 5, where this phrase is discussed. The idea of rapid motion is prominent in the Greek middle from this base also, as is noted in Liddell and Scott (whose English versions I give) e.g. *ἰθὺς φέρεται* to rush right upon, *Il.*, XX, 172, cf. *XV*, 743; *ποῖ γὰρ φέρομαι* to move, go, Sophocles, *O. T.*, 1309; *φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Ἀργυήτας* they fell on them with a rush, at full speed, Herodotus, VIII, 91. And in connection with my interpretation of *fertur*, in the Ciceronian sentence under discussion, as meaning *falls* (to the ground) it is interesting to observe that Homer uses the corresponding Greek middle of Hephaestus falling from Olympus, *πᾶν δ' ἡμᾶρ φερόμεν Il.*, I, 592. This exact correspondence in meaning shows how close is the kinship between the two middles, Greek and Latin, from the same base.

There are, moreover, medio-passive *r*-forms from this base in Old Irish (*berar*, *berir*), Umbrian (*ferar*), Phrygian (*αββηρο[ρ]* "he brings" [in his own interest]), and probably in Armenian (*berēr*, *berior*). Cf. *Lang.*, XIV, pp. 4-7 and p. 8, n. 49 and *Lang.*, V (1929), p. 233, n. 8. So too in Venetic *tolar*, if my interpretation of the ancient bronze inscription on which it is found is correct (see my paper "Venetic *tolar*, Old Irish *canar*, and the Indo-European Injunctive," *Lang.*, XII [1936], pp. 23-34), we have a middle *r*-form from the base *tel*, *tol*, *tul* which is associated in a suppletive relation with Latin *ferō*. In the middle verb *ferri*, therefore, we have the Latin representative of one of the best authenticated medio-passives in Indo-European speech.

fundi

ne silvescat [vitis] sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur (52).

The context has been discussed above (see p. 202). Here let it be noted that the clause *ne . . . fundatur* repeats the idea already expressed in the participial phrase *serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico* (*ibid.*). The middle verb *fundatur* is therefore interpreted, as very often, by the inceptive verb *silvescat* and by the intransitive verb *serpentem*.

The middle character of many "passive" forms of *fundo* is clearly recognized in *Harpers' Dictionary*, which gives a number of interesting instances of the use with middle force of both finite and non-finite forms of this verb, together with several examples of its use with the reflexive pronoun (a usage which often parallels and helps to interpret middle forms of the same verb). Cicero employs the middle form *funditur* quite charmingly in describing the musical and rolling rhythm of an orator's speech when he is in the full tide of his eloquence: *saepe etiam in amplificanda re concessu omnium funditur numerosae et volubiler oratio* (*Orator*, 210); cf. *fluens . . . oratio* (*ibid.*, 66) and: *ne infinite feratur ut flumen oratio* (*ibid.*, 228). Similarly Seneca has it of the commanding influence of virtue when it is at the height of power: *modo latius virtus funditur, regna urbes provincias temperat, fert leges, colit amicitias, inter propinquos liberosque dispensat officia* (*Epist.*, 74, 28). It is noteworthy in this passage that all the other verbs are in the active voice—there is a quasi-personification of *virtus* and any passive significance is out of the question.

In poetic diction a very lovely instance of the middle voice of *fundo* will be recalled from the *Aeneid*, Book VI, where the poet compares the thronging souls on the banks of the river of Lethe to bees hovering (pouring themselves) around white lilies:

Ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur; strepit omnis murmur campus
(*Aen.*, VI, 707-9).

Here it should be noted that the middle verb, *funduntur*, is accompanied, as so often, by intransitive verbs coming before and

after—*insidunt* "settle" and *strepit* "buzzes"—and there is nothing passive about the passage.

congregari

pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur (7).

The indubitably middle nature of *congregantur* in the familiar proverb in its Latin dress is passed over by editors *sub silentio*, but it is mentioned in *Harpers'*. It is of course obvious, corresponding as it does to an active verb in the English, "Birds of a feather flock together" and to reflexive expressions in the German, *Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern* and the French, *Qui se ressemble s'assemble*. A good parallel to the English form of the proverb is Pliny's: [*ciconiae*] *abiturae congregantur in loca certa* (*N. H.*, X, 61). Equally expressive is Cicero's use of the same verb of the swarming of bees in a striking passage where the finite middle form *congregantur* "flock together" is associated with the adjective *congregabilia* "inclined to flock together," used in an active (or shall we say rather a middle?) sense, and with the middle participle *congregati* "having flocked together": "ut apium examina non fingendorum favorum causa congregantur, sed cum congregabilia natura sint, fingunt favos, sic homines, ac multo etiam magis, natura congregati adhibent agendi cogitandique sollertiam" (*Off.*, I, 157). Cf. *etsi duce natura congregabantur homines* (*ibid.*, II, 73). Another delightful example of this picturesque middle occurs in the *De Divinatione*, of the flocking together of the magi: *et in Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se conloquendi* (I, 90). In a very interesting passage in the *De Finibus* Cicero in describing the ways of young children uses the reflexive pronoun with *congregare* in combination with other reflexives, several deponents, and one middle (*delectantur*), the whole complex expressing admirably the eager interest of the subject—the children—in their own efforts: "Parvi enim . . . et animo utuntur et sensibus, conitunturque, sese ut erigant, et manibus utuntur, . . . deinde aequalibus delectantur libenterque se cum iis congregant dantque se ad ludendum" (V, 42).

But perhaps the most striking of all parallels is found in Cicero's famous peroration to the *First Catiline*: *quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis* (32). Here, if we had any lingering doubt as to the reflexive character of *congregentur* "let them assemble themselves together" it should be dispelled by the immediately following middle *secernantur* "let them separate themselves," since this is glossed by the orator himself with *secernant se*. We have in fact a climax, beginning with the comparatively colorless intransitive verb *secedant*, followed by the more vivid reflexive phrase *secernant se*, and the two middles, which on account of the affective character of the middle voice are slightly more emphatic than either intransitive or reflexive: "Wherefore let the wicked go apart, let them separate themselves from the good, let them assemble themselves together in one spot, finally let them separate themselves from us by a wall."

congregari is therefore seen to be clearly middle in sense and indeed it belongs to a well-recognized type of the middle voice, the so-called "reciprocal middle."¹² This reciprocal nature is especially well brought out in a place in Lucretius where the poet is describing the formation of clouds:

haec faciunt primum parvas consistere nubes;
inde ea comprehendunt inter se conque gregantur
(VI, 455-6).

The use of *inter se* in the middle of verse 456 strengthens the inherently reciprocal sense of *con gregantur*.

reverti

Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam revertar (45); and, again, of the flight of time: *horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur* (69).

That in the present system "passive" forms of *reverti* are employed in a reflexive sense "turn one's self back, return"

¹² Cf. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, Erste Reihe (Basel, 1926), pp. 130-2, where interesting examples of Latin reciprocal middles are given.

is a fact of the language too well known to require either illustration or discussion. It is also well known that in the perfect system active forms correspond, in Classical Latin, to these middles of the present system: *revertitur* "he is returning," *revertit* "he returned." Only in Late or Mediaeval Latin has the language created analogically a *reversus est* to match *revertitur*. Compare the similar relation obtaining between deponent *reminiscor* and active perfect *memini*. So in Greek, γέγονα, for example, corresponds to γίγνομαι, ὄλωλα to ὀλλυμαι, μέμονα to μάλνυμαι. And in Sanskrit also the perfect active not infrequently associates itself with the middle voice of other tenses. So for example for the group *ā vṛt-*, which corresponds to Latin *revertor*, *reverti*, we find in Vedic prose the perfect active *upāvacarta* associated with the imperfect middle *upāvartata* and present middle *upāvartate*. I have elsewhere suggested a new theory to explain this striking phenomenon.¹³ My view, in brief, is that the old, inherited Indo-European perfect (of which οἶδα is typical) was itself originally an ancient middle and therefore naturally went along with middle forms in the other tenses. Dionysius Thrax, who as a Greek grammarian had of course an inside view of the language, seems to have felt "second" perfects as middles; for in his treatment of the voices of the Greek verb he gives πέπηγα and διέφθορα as examples of the middle voice.¹⁴ In the Latin perfect active itself, at least two of the personal endings—that of the first singular, *-ī*, and that of the third plural, *-ēre* (*-ērunt*)—probably represent old middle endings.¹⁵

Verbs of Emotion ¹⁶

delectari

Ut enim adolescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur (26). So also *delector* (46, 51, 85); *delectatur* (48, *ter*); *delectabatur* (44). Cf. *satiari delectatione non possum*

¹³ See "The Voice of the Indo-European Perfect," *Lang.*, XV (1939), pp. 155-9.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 159, with n. 21.

¹⁵ Cf. *Lang.*, XVIII, p. 31 (d), with n. 24; *Lang.*, XV, p. 157, with n. 13.

¹⁶ Delbrück's *Vorgänge im Gemüth*.

(52), where *satiari* is evidently middle in sense, and the reflexive expression: *qui se agri cultione oblectabant* (56).

Since I have already fully discussed the middle character of this verb as employed by Cicero in the *De Senectute* (see above, pp. 197-9), I will content myself here with one charming parallel from the *De Officiis*: *in quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eadem voluntates, in iis fit ut aequae quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso* (I, 56), "it comes about that each delights in the other equally as in himself," or, as Walter Miller translates it (in the Loeb Classical Library text), "for when two people have the same ideals and the same tastes, it is a natural consequence that each loves the other as himself." It will be noted that there is nothing passive about this.

efferrī

Equidem efferror studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi (83).

It will be recalled that Cato is here speaking of his "sure and certain hope" of immortality and his eager desire (*studio*) to meet his friends in the other world. At first sight it might seem that *efferror* here could well be taken as passive, "I am carried out of myself." But we must be on our guard against assuming that a passive expression which might seem natural enough in English (a language to which the reflexive idea is rather foreign) really represents the voice of the verb as the Latin-speakers conceived it. In its actual occurrences in the literature *effero* (*ecfero*), which in its figurative uses is a strongly emotional verb, shows a marked tendency to the reflexive notion, expressed either by the reflexive pronoun or by middle forms. In view of the frequent employment of the simple verb *ferri* in a middle sense (see above pp. 204-5), this is just what we should expect of the compound *efferrī*.

So for instance in speaking of souls freed from the body Cicero uses the reflexive form of *ecfero* in its literal sense: *multo etiam integriora ac puriora sunt, ut a terra longissime se ecferant* (*Tusc.*, I, 41). But it is its figurative use, as a verb of emotion, that will throw most light on Cato's vivid phrase, *Equidem efferror studio*. In a characteristically lively passage in Lucilius, quoted by Cicero (*Tusc.*, IV, 48), we find the satirist

giving vehement expression to a famous gladiator's wrath in passionate dactyls:

Odi hominem, iratus pugno, nec longius quicquam
Nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter;
Usque adeo studio atque odio illius ecferror ira.

Note that all the other verbs in these verses are active—a passive would be cold in this context, and there is every reason to take *ecferror* as an emotional middle. And note besides that it is accompanied by the same ablative (*studio*) as in Cato's expression; only in the Lucilian lines it is the eagerness of hate and anger. Cicero himself uses the middle *efferrī* of the ecstasy of wrath in a striking sentence from the *Pro Caelio* (21): *funguntur officio, defendunt suos, faciunt quod viri fortissimi solent; laesi dolent, irati efferuntur, pugnant lacessiti*. Here again we have, besides *efferuntur*, only deponent and active verbs; a passive is virtually excluded by the emotional tinge of the context; and moreover the chiasmus in *irati efferuntur, pugnant lacessiti* makes it natural to take the two verbs as fairly parallel, the one middle, the other active intransitive. One more illustration must suffice of the expressiveness of this middle as a vehicle for the emotion of anger: *Sed alii dolore moventur, alii cupiditate; iracundia etiam multi efferuntur* (Cicero, *Fin.*, V, 29), "But some stir themselves up with grief, others with passion; many also are beside themselves with anger." *Moveri* is one of the commonest middles in the language (though it does not happen to occur in the *De Senectute*, but compare: *quia se ipse moveat* [78]) and so *moventur* helps in the interpretation of *efferuntur*.

Equally expressive are both reflexive and middle forms of *ecfero* in rendering the emotion of joy (or pleasure). So of the ecstasy of love: *qui ecferrunt se laetitia tum cum fruuntur Veneriis voluptatibus* (*Tusc.*, IV, 68). And in a very interesting pair of passages in Cicero's *Tusculans*, both dealing with the emotion of joy, we have, it seems to me, clear proof of the middle nature of "passive" forms of *ecfero*. In the first of these we find: *an ratio parum praecipit nec bonum illud esse quod aut cupias ardentem aut adeptus ecferras te insolenter* (IV, 39) and in the second: *idemque si nihil concupiscat, nulla ecferatur animi inani voluptate, quid est cur is non beatus sit*

(V, 17). The close parallelism of phraseology, with *ecferas te* coupled with *cupias* in the first passage and *ecferatur* with *concupiscat* in the second, makes it certain that *ecferatur* was felt reflexively.

There is little doubt, therefore, that *efferror* in § 83 of the *Cato Maior* is also to be interpreted as an emotional middle, equivalent to some such English expression as "I am in an ecstasy of eagerness." The parallelism of *efferror studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi* and *neque vero eos solos convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi*, shows that *efferror studio* is virtually glossed by *aveo*, an intransitive active verb, which has an emotional and poetic connotation. Compare the Lucretian *quod te imitari aveo*, of the poet's passionate desire to imitate his master. The dialogue is here approaching its climax and the poet-farmer of chapter 15 is in chapter 23 becoming more and more a poet-philosopher.¹⁷ Witness the philosophic-poetical apostrophe: *O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam* (84).

levari

nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescent, animi autem se exercendo levantur (36).¹⁸

I have quoted the context somewhat fully because it is only by considering it that we get the right slant on the meaning of *levantur*. "If you don't put oil in a lamp, the light goes out, and so the mind and the spirit 'go out' with old age unless you aid them with spiritual food. And though bodies grow heavy from the fatigue of exercise, minds by exercising themselves grow light." I have ventured so to paraphrase Cato's

¹⁷ On the contrast between the real Cato and Cicero's ideal Cato, cf. Moore's interesting discussion in the Introduction to his edition of the *De Senectute* (op. cit., pp. 14-23).

¹⁸ I follow here, as elsewhere, Moore's text. Cf. the Appendix to his edition, p. 171. If we read *exercitando*, or *exercendo* (without *se*), we should have a middle, instead of a reflexive, use of the gerund, and this would not affect the argument.

words in order to show how the middle form *exstinguuntur* (cf. my discussion of this verb, pp. 216-17), the inceptive verb *ingravescent*, and the reflexive *se exercendo* (cf. the middle infinitive *exerceri*, 50) combine to assure a middle sense for *levantur* "lift themselves," i. e., "grow light."

Levare is used not infrequently with the reflexive, either in literal or figurative senses, both in prose and in poetry. An amusing example occurs in Columella in his entertaining description of the difficulties of inducing bees to return to the home hive: *cum sic apes evadit vestibulum, ut nulla intro revolet, sed se confestim levet sublimius* (IX, 12, 1). And a very pathetic one in the celebrated description of Dido's death in *Aeneid*, IV, 690-1:

ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit:
ter revoluta toro est.

It is to be noted in passing that here *revoluta . . . est* is unquestionably middle—a passive sense would be unthinkable.

And in a tragic fragment we find *te . . . levas* in an excited bacchiac sequence:

quemnám te ésse dicám, ferá quí manú córporís férvidós
fóntium
áperís lacús sanguínis téque vítá levás férreo énsí
(Varro, *ap. Non. p. 336, 33-35*).

These instances show a reflexive tendency of the verb; and moreover its middle forms occur in classic prose of the best period. An excellent illustration is found in the *De Finibus* (IV, 65), where the present middle occurs three times in a determinative context: "Illa sunt similia: hebes acies est cuius oculorum, corpore alius languescit; hi curatione adhibita levantur in dies; valet alter plus cotidie, alter videt; his similes sunt omnes qui virtuti student; levantur vitiis, levantur erroribus." The inceptive verb *languescit*, the active intransitives *valet* and *videt*, and the logic of the situation all indicate that *levantur* in this interesting passage is to be taken as middle, not passive. This interpretation is confirmed by Rackham's translation (in the Loeb Classical Library text): "Good analogies would be these: one man's eyesight is dim, another's general health is weak; apply remedies, and they get better day

by day; every day the one is stronger and the other sees better; similarly with all who earnestly pursue virtue; they get better, their vices and errors are gradually reduced." Rackham rightly uses "get better," an English inceptive verbal phrase, to render the Latin middle *levantur*. It is true, of course, that in this context *levare* is not a verb of emotion, since it is used of improvement in physical health and morals. In the passage in the *De Senectute*, however, since Cato is speaking of the mind and spirit (*menti atque animo*), it expresses a "lift" of the heart. Compare the beautiful phrases of the English Prayer Book: "Lift up your hearts . . . We lift them up unto the Lord."

*Verbs of Coming into being, of Becoming,
thought of as a process of development, of
Becoming visible, of Appearing, etc.*

generari

Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra
(52).

I have already given my interpretation, quite certain, it seems to me, of *quae generantur e terra* as "the things which spring out of the earth," and it requires little argument that *generantur* is middle, since it comes from the same root as Greek γίγνομαι, which is Delbrück's very first example of a typical middle of this class. *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* with charming inconsistency gives under *genero* "in pass., to spring or descend from" and cites as an example: *unde nil majus generatur ipso (Jove)* (Horace, *Carm.*, I, 12, 17). The example is good, but it obviously means, as the Dictionary says, "whence nothing greater springs than Jove himself." Even in prose we have *Herculis stirpe generatus*, "sprung from the stock of Hercules" (Cicero, *Rep.*, II, 24). *generari* seems to be slightly poetic, except perhaps in the perfect participle; but a good prose example occurs in Cicero: *Quae quidem omnia eam vim seminis habent in se ut ex uno plura generentur* (*N. D.*, II, 127), where the phraseology is quite parallel to our passage. Much commoner are middle forms of *gigno*, of course from the same root, as for example: *Ita ex quattuor temporum mutationibus omnium quae terra marique gignuntur initia causaeque ducuntur* (*N. D.*, II,

49), again a close parallel to the clause in the *Cato Maior*. Note Rackham's translation (in the Loeb Classical Library): "Thus from the changes of the four seasons are derived the origins and causes of all those creatures which *come into existence* on land and in the sea" (*italics mine*).

minui

At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior (21).

The meaning is clearly, "But the memory grows less." Compare Moore's comment (*ad loc.*): "At memoria minuitur: an anticipated objection . . . suggests the whole subject of the decline of mental power, and furnishes an easy transition (21-26) to physical decay, the second head in the argument." I group *minui*, therefore, with *generari* as expressing the reverse of "coming into being"—decay is the reverse of growth. Wackernagel also, after speaking of the obviously middle force of certain deponent verbs, mentions "*minui* 'abnehmen'" and comments: "Sie sehen, auch bei solchen Verben, die nicht Deponentia sind, kommt man mit der rein passivischen Erklärung nicht durch."¹⁹

A pretty parallel is the Lucretian verse:

augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur (II, 77),

which Rouse translates (Loeb Classical Library), "Some nations increase, others diminish." And Caesar has *rursus minuente aestu*, "when the tide ebbed again" (*B. G.*, III, 12, 1). The present active participle is often used, in the absence in the Latin language of a present passive participle, in a reflexive, or middle, sense; and that Caesar so conceived *minuente* here is shown by the preceding clause (*ibid.*): *cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset*. And in the following passage from the *Tusculans*: *neque vetustate minui mala nec fieri praemeditata leviora* (III, 32), I should certainly consider *minui* a middle infinitive, parallel as it is to *fieri*, which is passive only by courtesy: "evils do not grow less with lapse of time nor become lighter if anticipated."

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

exstingui

Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute (36). So also: *Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur sed diuturnitate exstinguitur* (38); *ignis exstinguitur* (71).

I have already discussed the third of these occurrences (see pp. 196-7) and have showed that anything but a middle sense is excluded by the context. The second is also extremely clear. The same beautiful image as in § 71, of the "going out" of an old man's life as being like a dying fire, seems to be in the writer's mind. We cannot imitate in English the play on words of *sensim sine sensu*, but this adverbial phrase, taken together with the inceptive verb *senescit*, virtually excludes an interpretation of *exstinguitur* as passive. As Moore says (in his note *ad loc.*), "alliteration and assonance combine with the oxymoron (*sensim sine sensu*) in a studied and eminently successful effort to describe vividly the imperceptible advance of age." *Sensim . . . senescit* is contrasted with *subito frangitur* but taken up again with *diuturnitate exstinguitur*; and since the fire goes out imperceptibly it is certain that it is not put out. Cicero brings up before our imagination one of the loveliest things in the world—a fire going out on a hearth, its glowing embers gradually fading.²⁰

The first instance (that in § 36) is also made clear by the imagery, in this case that of a lighted lamp which goes out unless you tend it. Compare Falconer's translation (in the Loeb Classical Library): "for they [the mind and soul], too, like lamps, grow dim with time, unless we keep them supplied with oil."

²⁰ Here the translation given in the Loeb Classical Library: "Thus employed his life gradually and imperceptibly glides into old age, and succumbs, not to a quick assault, but to a long-continued siege" seems to me completely to miss the ethos of the beautiful Ciceronian sentence—what Nägelsbach (*Lat. Stil.*, § 129) well calls "die Poesie der lateinischen Prosa." And it does so, I think, mainly because the writer takes both *frangitur* and *exstinguitur* as passive, instead of middle. No "assault" or hostile "siege" of the old man's life is implied in the Latin.

This middle use of *exstingui* is by no means peculiar to the *De Senectute*. It is fairly common in the literature as a virtual synonym of *mori*, which is itself an inherited middle (cf. Vedic Sanskrit *amṛta* "il est mort"). So *illo exstincto* (12) for *illo mortuo*. In *N. D.*, I, 29 *exstingui* is expressly contrasted with *nasci*: *Empedocles autem multa alia peccans in deorum opinione turpissime labitur. Quattuor enim naturas, ex quibus omnia constare censei, divinas esse vult; quas et nasci et exstingui perspicuum est*. It seems logical therefore to put *exstingui* in this category as meaning "go out of existence"—the reverse process of "coming into being."

frangi

nec subito frangitur (38).

The sentence containing this middle has just been quoted under *exstingui*. For the man busily engaged in literary pursuits and public affairs, according to Cato, life imperceptibly passes into old age—it does not break suddenly.

In Delbrück's group of verbs meaning "entstehen, werden, als Entwicklungsvorgang gedacht" the idea "sich brechen" is not specifically mentioned, but it seems to belong with *minui* and *exstingui* as expressing the reverse of becoming. Breaking up is a process of disintegration, the opposite of coming into existence. It is a striking fact that in Greek the verb of corresponding meaning is used mainly in middle forms. Under ῥήγνυμι Liddell and Scott say: "The word is hardly used by correct Att. Prose-writers, exc. in Pass."²¹ In other words Greek ῥήγνυμι is virtually a Medium tantum. So in Homer it is used of the breaking waves of the sea:

περὶ δέ σφισι κῦμα θαλάσσης
ῥήγνυτο (Il., XVIII, 66-7),

and

χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μέγала βρέμει [κῦμα] (Il., IV, 425).

²¹ Even the new Liddell and Scott rather absurdly calls these forms *passive* (being very much under the influence of "the traditional paradigmatic conceptions of the [Greek] language" to which I have already alluded [see p. 194]). It gives as meanings for the "Pass." *break, break asunder, burst*, which are of course in no sense passive!

Though ῥήγνυμι is probably not cognate to Latin *frango*, yet the semantic correspondence is significant.

In Latin, *frangi* is not uncommon in a middle sense; sometimes of the sea, like the uses of ῥήγνυμι just cited. So in Lucretius, VI, 143-4:

quod item fit in altis
fluminibus magnoque mari, cum frangitur aestus

"as happens likewise in deep rivers and the great sea when the rolling tide breaks" (Rouse's translation). And again in Virgil's lovely description of the approach to Carthage:

insula portum
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos
(*Aen.*, I, 159-61),

frangitur, though I suppose it is usually taken as passive, is surely in the middle voice, as the poet himself shows us by continuing the wave's action with *scindit sese*: "an island makes a harbor by the jutting out of its sides, against which every wave coming from the deep breaks and splits itself into retreating curves." *Scindit sese* here is equivalent to *scinditur* in II, 39:

scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

And conversely *frangitur* is equivalent to *frangit sese*. Compare Seneca's use of the middle of the verb of kindred meaning, *findo*, in his very interesting discussion *De fulminibus et tonitribus*: *Hoc ut scias, ventus qui circa arborem finditur sibilat, non tonat* (*Q. N.*, II, 28, 3). This is rendered in the edition of *l'Association Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1929): "Tu t'en rendras compte si tu observes le vent quand il *se partage* autour d'un arbre: il siffle, il ne tonne pas" (*italics mine*). The French rendering is apt to come closer to the feeling of the Latin original because of the frequency in French of reflexive verbs, which are often in fact the legitimate successor of the Latin middle voice. Another illuminating example from Seneca, this time of *frangi* itself, occurs earlier in the same chapter, where he is speaking about clouds: *Idem de nubibus dico; nisi multo impetu dissiluerent, non resonant. Adice nunc quod nubes in*

montem actae non franguntur, sed circumfunduntur (Q. N., II, 28, 2), "clouds driven against a mountain do not burst [and produce thunder] but pour themselves around." Here we have the middle verb *franguntur* associated with the very common middle *circumfunduntur* (cf. Caesar, B. G., VI, 37: *Circumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus, si quem aditum reperire possent*). And compare the French note on the passage (*op. cit.*, note to p. 79); "L'adversaire aurait pu répondre . . . 'c'est que les nuages ne sont jamais des masses qui *se brisent* soit contre une montagne, soit les uns contre les autres'" (italics mine).

And Ennius, that well of Latin undefiled, gives us a picturesque instance of this middle verb *frangi* in a fragment from a battle scene:

Aes sonit, franguntur hastae, terra sudat sanguine
(*Scenica* 181, ed. Vahlen).

In this verse the middle form is flanked by active verbs on either hand; there is nothing passive in the environment; and *franguntur* itself is clearly a reciprocal middle, adding its liveliness to a vivid description: "The brass is sounding, spears are shattering [each other], the earth is sweating with blood."

Less exciting, but perhaps not less expressive is Cicero's use of the middle form *frangitur*, in a figurative sense, in the *De Senectute*. The life of the vigorous old man, says Cato, does not break suddenly, but goes out gradually with length of days.

includi (51)

muniri (*ibid.*)

The long sentence in which these two verbs appear has already been quoted in large part above, with translation and discussion (see pp. 200-1). I group them here as both expressing in this context a process of development—the *Entwicklungsvorgang* which, according to Delbrück, is one of the chief marks of the middle voice. In each of them there is also prominent the idea of the interest of the subject in the action which seems to be the most fundamental notion of the middle voice. They represent very clearly what Delbrück calls *das Medium des Interesses*. Neither of these verbs, so far as I have observed, is common

in the middle voice, but they illustrate the fact that any verb of suitable meaning may be used in the middle in an appropriate context. In summing up his treatment of Indo-European Aktiva tantum and Media tantum Delbrück says: "Man kann nur sagen, dass es die vorwiegende Aufgabe des Aktivums ist, die Personen handelnd vorzustellen. Dem gegenüber bezeichnet das Medium einen Vorgang, an dem das Subjekt theilhaftig ist" (*Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 424). Nothing could more perfectly fulfill the idea of the middle, as Delbrück thus defines it, than the processes by which the growing grain, as Cicero's poet-farmer lovingly describes it, "begins to shut itself in sheaths" and finally "fortifies itself against the bites of the lesser birds with a rampart of bristles."

videri

Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, id tribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute (3).

Also: *videor* 18, 77, *videtur* 54, 66, 69, 75, 76, 83, *videmini* 4, *videntur* 51, 63, 64, 71, *videbantur* 7, 29, *videar* 46, 55, 71, *videatur* 15, 65, *videantur* 45, 78, *videretur* 14, 22 (*bis*), 31.

Since I have already published a special article on "The Middle Verb *vidēri*"²² I may dispense with any discussion of it in this place. And to cite illustrative examples of its usage would be superfluous. It is a cardinal fact of the Latin language that one of the very commonest *r*-forms is practically always middle, and apparently has never been anything but middle. *Videri* is rarely, if ever, passive in sense, except occasionally in the compound tenses. It regularly means "seem," which is in no sense a passive idea.²³ I need only remark that in the *De Senectute*, *videri* is running strictly true to form. In every one of its twenty-seven occurrences it means "seem," never

²² *Lang.*, XVIII, pp. 26-32. See also my paper, "*Videor* as a Deponent in Plautus," *A. J. P.*, LXIV (1943), pp. 71-9. And cf. J. B. Hofmann, *De verbis quae in prisca Latinitate extant deponentibus commentatio* (Greifswald, 1910), p. 4: "certe passivis non adscribenda talia qualia sunt *revertor*, *videor*."

²³ Cf. *Lang.*, XVIII, p. 27, with n. 8, and pp. 28-29.

once "be seen." Delbrück cites its Greek cognate "*εἶδομαι* erscheinen" among *Media tantum*.²⁴

Though the purpose of this paper is in the main stylistic rather than statistical, yet some statistics may be of interest. Of the total number of occurrences of finite forms of the present system for passive, middle, and deponent—the so-called *r*-forms—I have found: Passive, 53; Middle, 51; Deponent, 54; Impersonal passive, 6. In making this tabulation I have classed as passive a number of forms which personally I am inclined to consider middle. Taking the deponent and middle forms together, as we should, since they absolutely belong together,²⁵ we have a total of 105 middle-deponent forms over against 53 passives—a preponderance of two to one for the middle voice. This is just what we should expect if the middle is in fact the original. In earlier Latin authors, notably in Plautus, the preponderance is much greater.²⁶

Especially to be emphasized is that the relatively very small number of impersonal passives gives no support whatever to the theory (originally propounded by Hermann Zimmer [*K. Z.*, XXX] but since appearing in Protean forms which Zimmer would have been the first to disown) that the Latin passive took its origin from an impersonal passive in *-r*.²⁷

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²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 423.

²⁵ For the Latin deponent as the lineal descendant of the middle voice of the parent speech, cf. E. F. Clafin, "The Hypothesis of the Italo-Celtic Impersonal Passive in *-r*," *Lang.*, V, pp. 237-8, with n. 35, and "The Nature of the Latin Passive," *A. J. P.*, XLVIII (1927), pp. 162-4, with table on p. 163 showing the semantic correspondence of Latin deponents with Homeric middles on the one hand and on the other hand with French reflexive verbs.

²⁶ Cf. J. B. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4, especially n. 3.

²⁷ For a detailed discussion and criticism of this theory, see my paper cited in note 25, *Lang.*, V, pp. 232-50.

LIVIA AND THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT.

Preller, in introducing his discussion of the growth of the Roman imperial cult after the death of Augustus, wrote:¹ "Under Tiberius, a great part of the ceremonial dignity with which Augustus had surrounded himself passed to Livia, who as Julia Augusta stood at the head both of the *gens Julia* and of the cult of the deified Augustus." It is true that after the death of Augustus Livia occupied a position of unique importance in the state, but this was not a sudden change. Even before his death, during his long principate, she had shared increasingly in the honors of her husband.² She had the right of having her statues erected, was allowed to administer her own property, and was endowed with the sacred inviolability formerly characteristic of the tribune's office.³ She, together with Augustus, had the privilege of dining in the temple of Concordia,⁴ and her influence in the court was such that ambassadors to Augustus often approached her to endeavor to make her an advocate of their causes.⁵ Her share in the "ceremonial dignity" of the

¹ *Römische Mythologie* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1881), p. 433.

² Helpful studies of Livia's position in the state are: F. Sandels, *Die Stellung der Kaiserlichen Frauen des Julisch-Claudischen Hauses*; (Diss., Giessen, 1912), and R. B. Hoffsten, *Roman Women of Rank of the Early Empire as portrayed by Dio, Paternulus, Suetonius, and Tacitus* (Univ. of Penn. Diss., 1939). Excellent biographical studies are: J. Aschbach, "Livia, Gemahlin des Kaisers Augustus," *Wiener Denkschr.*, XIII (1864), and H. Willrich, *Livia* (Leipzig, 1911). L. Ollendorf, "Livia," *R.-E.*, XIII, cols. 900-27, has the largest collection of evidence of her honors and cult. Among writers on the imperial cult in general, E. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial* (Paris, 1891) has made the most comprehensive study of the share of women in the cult.

³ Dio, XLIX, 38, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, 6.

⁵ Ollendorf, *loc. cit.*, col. 906. Honors of various kinds were accorded her throughout the empire: A kind of paper was named for her "Liviana"; a wine, salad greens, figs were named for her (Pliny, *N. H.*, XIII, 74; XIV, 60; XIX, 92; XV, 70). Two towns were given her name: *Liviopolis* and *Livias*, which was later changed to *Julias* (*ibid.*, VI, 11; XIII, 44; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, II, 168). Myths seem to have been woven about her person early in her career: After her betrothal and shortly before her marriage to Augustus, an eagle dropped

emperor is, moreover, even more clearly seen in the cult honors and tributes of a divine nature which were offered her and which she was permitted to accept. These honors, beginning early in the principate of Augustus and continuing throughout her long life and after her death, illustrate the part played in the imperial cult by the wife of the reigning emperor, the mother of the reigning emperor and priestess of Augustus, and, finally, the deified ancestress of the Julian House. Chronologically, the history of her cult extends from the early years of Augustus' principate down into the period of the Antonine dynasty.

1. THE WIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

The practice, common in the East, of honoring not only the goddess *Roma* but also human representatives of Rome's power with such tributes as had regularly been paid Hellenistic rulers was begun almost as soon as the various states began to feel the power of Rome. Marcellus, Flamininus, Lucullus, Sulla, Pompey, and others were the recipients of divine honors or honors bordering on the divine.⁶ The first known instance of the bestowal of divine honors upon a Roman woman is in connection with the widespread adulation offered Antony: A town of Phrygia changed its name to *Fulvia* and issued a coin representing Antony's wife as a winged Victory.⁷ Later, after Antony had married Octavia and had also gone through the absurd performance of marrying Athena, the Athenians, angered by his demand for a fabulous dowry, erected a statue of him

a snow-white hen unharmed into her lap; in its beak it carried a sprig of laurel. The *haruspices* were consulted, and, in accordance with their directions, the hen and its progeny were carefully tended and the laurel was planted at Augustus' country estate, where it grew prodigiously, producing a grove which supplied laurel for the triumphs of Augustus and his successors (Pliny, *N. H.*, XV, 130; Dio, XLVIII, 52. Suetonius, *Galba*, 1, adds details regarding the later history and final destruction of chickens and grove).

⁶ L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn., 1931), pp. 35-57.

⁷ B. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1911). It appears to have been the town of Eumenia which for a short interval bore the name of Fulvia.

with the derisive inscription: Ὀκταονία καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀντωνίῳ: *res tuas tibi habe*.⁸

It was natural that the states of the East, especially those most accustomed to pay homage to the wives and daughters of their Hellenistic monarchs, should have a tendency to include the women of the families of great Romans in the honors which they conferred,⁹ and, when, under Augustus, this tendency centered on the imperial family, it was, of course, Livia who most often received honors of a divine nature together with Augustus. As he was acclaimed a deity incarnate and identified with Zeus and other divinities, so Livia was honored as a goddess and frequently represented with the attributes of deity, especially those of Hera and Demeter.

In Rome and the West in general, the attitude of the populace toward Augustus and his family was obviously different. The violent death of Julius Caesar had demonstrated that Roman citizens, at least, were not yet prepared to offer supreme honor to a mortal.¹⁰ Thus Augustus, when he had finally established himself as Caesar's successor, was careful to restrict his honors and make his position a more acceptable one. He adopted the policy of encouraging the cults of the deified Julius, of Venus Genetrix, and Mars Ultor, the veneration of the great abstractions which symbolized the blessings of his rule, and most

⁸ Seneca, *Suasoriae*, I, 6. The divorce formula; cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, II, 28, 69. Pausanias (II, 3, 1) mentions a temple of Octavia at Corinth, but this was probably erected later, to honor the sister of Octavian, rather than the wife of Antony. S. E. Freeman, "The Excavation of a Roman Temple at Corinth," *Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Baltimore, 1941), I, pt. II: Architecture, pp. 166-236, discusses the possibility of identifying "Temple E" at Corinth as a shrine of Octavia. She considers this unlikely. C. Roebuck, however, *C. P.*, XXXVIII (1943), p. 70, thinks it probable. Positive identification appears to be impossible.

⁹ See E. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Klio*, I (1901), pp. 51-146, and Herzog-Hauser, "Kaiserkultus," *R.-E.*, Suppl. IV, cols. 806-53.

¹⁰ John J. Sullivan, "Consecratio in Cicero," *C. W.*, XXXVII (1944), presents an interesting study of Cicero's views on the subject, including his pathetic plan to build a shrine to Tullia, in spite of his general antagonism to the deification of mortals.

particularly the cult of his own *Genius*.¹¹ It was in these cults that the gratitude and reverence of the people toward the leader who had brought back peace and prosperity could find an easy outlet, without exalting him to the invidious position of an Oriental God-King.

The cult of the *Genius Augusti* was of such a nature that, although Livia was never officially included in it, the popular mind easily related her *Juno* to the *Genius* of the emperor. The *Genius* of the father of the family had its counterpart in the *Juno* of the mother, and it must thus have seemed natural that the spirit of Livia should be honored together with the *Genius* of her husband.¹² At Falerii, sometime between 4 and 14 A. D., a freedman set up a dedication: *Genio Augusti et Tib(erii) Caesaris Junoni Liviae*.¹³ At El Lehs in Africa, a couple who had in some extremity made a vow to Livia's *Juno*, dedicated their offering: *Junoni Liviae Augusti sacrum*.¹⁴ An altar of the Julian *gens* found in a private villa near Carthage has as part of its design two beautifully carved serpents which seem to represent the *Genii* of Augustus and Livia.¹⁵ The *Juno* of Livia, to some extent, also found its way into the household cult of Italian families. Statues of her have been found in the *lararia* of a villa at Gragnano near Naples, and of a Gallo-Roman house near Lyons.¹⁶ It is probable that the statue of

¹¹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

¹² Von Domaszewski, "*Dei certi et incerti*," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, X (1907), p. 16, defines the *Juno* as the creative power in woman which gives birth to new life, the equivalent of the *Genius*, which in man is the power of begetting. W. Otto, "*Juno*," *Philol.*, LXIV (1905), p. 179, characterizes it similarly as "the feminine soul which creates and preserves life." See too E. Shields, "*Juno, a Study in Early Roman Religion*," *Smith Class. Stud.*, VII (1926). A coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum, which carries a portrait of Livia, bears the curious inscription: Σεβαστῆς Ἡρα. If correct, it may possibly be a translation of *Juno Augustae*. See p. 241 below.

¹³ *C. I. L.*, XI, 3076.

¹⁴ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 16456. Dated 3 A. D.

¹⁵ M. I. Rostovtzeff, "*Augustus*," *Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit.*, XV (1922), p. 143. The celebration of Livia's birthday for which we have evidence in the period following Augustus' death may have begun during his lifetime, particularly since the birthday celebration is so closely associated with the cult of the *Genius*.

¹⁶ E. S. Strong, *C. A. H.*, Plates, IV, 168.

her found in the *Villa dei Misteri* at Pompeii was also from the *lararium* of the house.¹⁷ Just how general the inclusion of Livia in the household cult was, it is difficult to determine. Ovid, while at Tomi, possessed silver images of Julius, Augustus, and Livia, and sacrificed to them, but he, for obvious reasons, was eager to flatter the imperial family.¹⁸

In the cult of the great abstractions of the Augustan era Livia also shared. She herself erected a temple to *Concordia*, apparently honoring the harmony of the imperial marriage.¹⁹ The *Ara Pacis* was dedicated on her birthday, and it may be that already as early as this she was, to some extent, identified with *Pax*. It is almost certain, at least, that the figure of *Pax* later appearing on coins of Tiberius was intended to represent or suggest Livia.²⁰

It is probable that the *Arae Cereris Matris* and *Opis Augustae*, dedicated on August 10, 7 A. D., were also intended partially as an honor to Livia.²¹ While there is no direct evidence that this is so, we know that, as early as this, there had begun to be an association of the empress with the deity of agricultural plenty. Coins of Augustus, dating from 2 B. C. to 14 A. D., carry on their reverse the image of a woman seated, holding ears of corn and a sceptre,²² a type very similar to that used by

¹⁷ A. Maiuri, *La villa dei Misteri* (Rome, 1931), p. 76 and fig. 29. G. K. Boyce, "Pompeian Lararia," *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, XIV (1937), p. 484. L. Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge," *Röm. Mitt.*, LIV (1939), pp. 125 f., considers this portrait one of the few whose identity is certain.

¹⁸ *Pont.*, II, 8. See K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *T. A. P. A.*, LXII (1931), p. 107, and "Emperor Worship in Ovid," *T. A. P. A.*, LXI (1930), pp. 43-69.

¹⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 637-8. See also V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1891-1904), II, 2, p. 641. The relation of this temple to the *Porticus Liviae* is uncertain. The temple may, as Gardthausen thought, have been the centre of the whole structure. Cf. Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929), p. 423.

²⁰ See p. 236 below.

²¹ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (2nd ed., Munich, 1912), p. 204. Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 110, also agree that these were probably intended as an honor to Livia.

²² H. Mattingly, *C. R. E. B. M.*, I, p. 91.

Claudius to represent the deified Livia.²³ It seems unlikely that this type should have originated after her deification; more probably it first appeared during the régime of Augustus, which placed such great emphasis on the cult of agricultural prosperity.²⁴

There was, moreover, another altar at Rome in which Livia had a share. The *Ara Numinis Augusti* was dedicated in 5 or 9 A. D. on the wedding anniversary of Augustus and Livia.²⁵ The genitive form of its descriptive phrase makes it uncertain whether this was an altar of the *Numen Augusti* or *Numen Augustum*, but, in view of the date chosen for its dedication, the latter seems more probable. An altar at Forum Clodi, clearly dedicated to the *Numen Augustum*, records a birthday celebration of Livia, as well as sacrifices to the *Genii* of Augustus and Tiberius. Thus, it seems probable that the *Numen Augustum* was a divinity which included not only the *Genius* of the emperor and his heir but the *Juno* of Livia as well. If, then, the Roman altar was of the *Numen Augustum*, as seems likely, the *Juno* of Livia was probably venerated there as it undoubtedly was in the birthday celebration at Forum Clodi.²⁶

²³ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 96, no. 9.

²⁴ Coins of Panormus in Sicily, probably dating from Augustus' lifetime, show a veiled head crowned with corn, which is generally believed to represent Livia (*B. M. C. Sicily*, p. 125, no. 43). Mattingly (*op. cit.*, I, p. 91) suggests that the figure of Ceres on Augustan coins of 11 to 13 A. D. may also represent Livia. Numerous undatable works of art represent her wearing the crown of Ceres and holding corn and poppies. The crown of Ceres soon became one of the commonest attributes of Roman empresses and corresponded more or less to the laurel crown of the emperor; see A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremonials am römischen Kaiserhof," *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), p. 124. The double cornucopia motif in Augustan art, as seen in the Bolognese altar of Mercury, was symbolic of the blessings of Ceres as brought by the emperor and empress, just as it had originally been symbolic of the rule of the Ptolemaic royal couple. Cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Das Altar von Bologna," *Röm. Mitt.*, XLII (1927), pp. 163-76; and K. Scott, "Mercury on the Bologna Altar," *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), p. 225. For Livia's portrait on coins of Alexandria, see p. 232 below.

²⁵ L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' *Ovatio* and the *Ara Numinis Augusti*," *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 185-93. For later celebration of their marriage day, see p. 235 below.

²⁶ Taylor, *loc. cit.*, p. 189: "Just as the Arval brethren later sacrificed

Although Augustus preferred to encourage in the western Mediterranean such cults as were not too much at variance with western, and particularly Roman, traditions, he apparently exempted certain communities from his general rule for the West. A notable exception to his general policy is Neapolis, which seems to have been allowed to institute cult honors decidedly Hellenistic in character. It seems to have owed its exemption from the general rule to its Greek origin and traditions.²⁷ It is then not surprising to find that the two instances of extraordinary honors for Livia are also found in communities where Greek influence was strong. At Himera, in Sicily, an altar was erected to her and Tiberius,²⁸ and Haluntium actually made a dedication: *Liviae Augusti Deae Municipium*.²⁹

Poets too were exempt from the general Augustan policy prohibiting the offering of exaggerated honors to the imperial family. Augustus seems to have accepted with composure the overwhelming tribute paid him by Roman poets, even when they exalted him to the highest deity. To Vergil's shepherd he is ever a god, to whom sacrifice is due.³⁰ Horace hails him as Mercury incarnate come to save the Roman world from the penalty of its sins;³¹ Ovid addresses him as Jupiter.³² The traditional license of the poet to indulge in extravagant figures of speech, no doubt, causes his allusions to the emperor's godhead to fall into a category quite different from that of formal cult honors.

In Vergil's and Horace's poems Livia nowhere appears as divine, but Ovid who so commonly addresses Augustus as Jupiter quite consistently hails Livia as Juno:

to the *Juno* of the empresses along with the *Genius* of the emperors, so the four great priesthoods probably made their official sacrifice at this altar to the *Juno* of Livia as well as to the *Genius* of Augustus."

²⁷ For a description of the cult honors see: Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, p. 215.

²⁸ *C. I. L.*, X, 7340. This may, of course, actually have been dedicated to their *Genii*, but the inscription does not indicate that this is the case.

²⁹ *C. I. L.*, X, 7464.

³⁰ *Ecl.*, I, 6-8.

³¹ *Carm.*, I, 2, 41-52.

³² See M. Ward, "The Association of Augustus with Jupiter," *Stud. e Mat. di Storia delle Relig.*, IX (1935), pp. 203-13; and Scott, "Emperor Worship in Ovid," *T. A. P. A.*, LXI (1930), pp. 43 ff.

Haec tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara
Sola toro magni digna reperta Jovis,³³

and similarly:

Quae Veneris formam, mores Junonis habendo,
Sola est caelesti digna reperta toro.³⁴

From Pontus, he writes to beg his wife to approach Livia to intercede for him:

Cum tibi contigerit vultum Iunonis adire,³⁵

and his final injunction is:

E quibus ante omnis Augustum Numen adora,
Progeniemque piam, participemque tori.³⁶

In the art of Augustus' principate, the practice of representing members of the Roman imperial house with the attributes of deity was not yet widespread. A gem in the British Museum collection has been identified as a portrait of Livia as Hera, together with Julia, who is portrayed wearing the helmet of Athena.³⁷ On a relief of San Vitale in Ravenna, Livia is apparently shown as a kind of Venus-Genetrix-Victrix; seated beside Augustus she is offering him a little Victory and shield.³⁸

In the East, Livia seems to have shared the Hellenistic type of honors with Augustus, as she shared the more Roman type

³³ *Fasti*, I, 640-1.

³⁴ *Pont.*, III, 1, 117-18.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 1, 145. The dedications "*Iovi Augusto*" and "*Iunoni Augustae*" seem to me to be instances of the widespread practice of giving the title *Augustus* to Roman divinities, though Miss Ward (*loc. cit.*, p. 220) lists these as dedications to Augustus and Livia.

³⁶ *Pont.*, III, 1, 164-5.

³⁷ *B. M. C. Gems*, 3584.

³⁸ E. S. Strong, *La Scultura Romana* (Rome, 1923), pp. 83 ff. See also Rostovtzeff, "La Gobelet d'argent," *Mém. prés. par divers savants à l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, XIII (1925), pp. 1 ff. The identification is not certain, but the fact that the figure is of human, not divine, size makes it seem probable that it represents a human being, and Livia is certainly the most likely choice. On the importance of the "Victory of Augustus," see J. Gagé, "Divus Augustus," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIV (1931), pp. 30 ff.; "La Victoria Augusti et les Auspices de Tibère," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXII (1930), pp. 1-35; and "La Théologie de la Victoire impériale," *R. H.*, CLXXI (1933), pp. 1-34.

of honor in the West. The province of Asia, in 29 B. C., obtained permission to build a temple at Pergamum to *Roma* and Augustus, and it seems likely that Livia was included in the cult early in its history, perhaps at its inception.³⁹ Her statue was set up in the temple together with that of Augustus, and an inscription records that her birthday was celebrated as well as her husband's, not, it is true, on the anniversary of her birth, but on September 21, as part of the celebration in honor of Augustus.⁴⁰ It may be that the statue portrayed her as Hera, for coins of Pergamum show her as Hera,⁴¹ and a Pergamene inscription also seems to honor her thus.⁴²

In Athens Livia, together with Julia, shared a priestess and probably a temple with Hestia.⁴³ This was doubtless very

³⁹ Tiberius, who professed to follow the precedent of Augustus, permitted the province of Asia to build a temple to the goddess *Roma*, himself, and Livia; cf. p. 240 below.

⁴⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 37; Dio, LI, 20; M. Fraenkel, *Inscriptionen von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1890-95), II, p. 262, no. 374 B 12, C9, D. (The inscription dates from the reign of Hadrian.) See also M. Calvary, "Die Geburtstagsfeier den Monarchen bei Griechen und Römern," *N. Jb.*, XX (1907), p. 133.

⁴¹ She appears with Julia, who is shown with the attributes of Aphrodite, *B. M. C. Mysia*, p. 139, no. 348; Pl. XXVIII, 6.

⁴² *I. G. R.*, IV, 319 (a restored inscription). Cf. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachi Orationem*, I, 251: *Adiecere sacrum fieret quo Livia Juno*. For later developments of her cult as Juno, see pp. 241-2 below.

⁴³ *C. I. A.*, III, 316. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 153 ff. A theatre seat in Athens is inscribed 'Ιερῆας Ἑστρί[as] καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλίας. The editors of this inscription note that the simplest interpretation is that this designates a priestess of Hestia, Livia, and Julia. But they suggest that the phrase, καὶ Λειβίας, may have been joined to the lost surname of Hestia (which probably occupied the lacuna) in such a way that it indicated the identification of Livia with Hestia. They assert that inscription 276 shows that the use of the conjunction καὶ does not preclude this possibility. They also suggest that the phrase, καὶ Ἰουλίας, may have been added after Augustus' death to indicate Livia's change of name. A. D. Nock, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLI (1930), p. 30, agrees with the editors of the inscription that this "probably points to partnership, though it may point to identification." Examination of *C. I. A.*, III, 275, does not seem to substantiate the statement of the editors that this inscription shows the same use of the conjunction καὶ. While it, too, designates a theatre seat: 'Ιερῆως Ποσειδῶνος Γαιήόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως, the names here joined do not seem comparable to the names of Livia and Julia in the

acceptable to Augustus, who had built a new temple to Vesta near his own dwelling on the Palatine. Another Athenian inscription honors her as *Εὐεργέτις*.⁴⁴

At Thasos Livia and Julia are also honored together as *Εὐεργέται*, Livia as *Θεὰ Εὐεργέτις*, Julia merely as *Εὐεργέτις*,⁴⁵ titles reminiscent of the honors of Hellenistic royal families.⁴⁶

It seems possible that at Tralles Livia had a cult as Hecate. An inscription there mentions a *ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ Ἑκάτης Σεβαστῆς*,⁴⁷ and the editor of it identifies Hecate as Livia, basing this identification merely on the fact that she has a priest in common with Tiberius. This would hardly seem conclusive evidence, but a coin of Tralles apparently representing Livia as Hecate⁴⁸ makes the existence of a Livia-Hecate cult there more plausible.

other inscription. It is true that there was a long-standing cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus in Athens; but there is no proof that this particular man is not a priest of Poseidon and Erechtheus. In the fifth century B. C. the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus in Athens was already well established (*C. I. A.*, I, 387); yet in the following century we find the Erechtheid tribe decreeing certain sacrifices for *Poseidon and Erechtheus*; the inscription leaves no doubt that separate deities are meant: *τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεῖ* (see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* [Oxford, 1907], IV, pp. 49 f., and *C. I. A.*, IV, 556 c). Thus, whatever the lost phrase in the inscription may have been, there seems to be no indication of identification here. This is, as far as can be seen, a priestess of Hestia, Livia, and Julia. The addition of *καὶ Ἰουλίας* to indicate Livia's change of name seems improbable.

⁴⁴ *B. C. H.*, LI (1927), p. 256. Graindor, who restores the name as [*Θεὰν Διο*] *Λίαν Σεβ[αστήν]*, dates the inscription between 14 and 29 A. D. because Livia has the title *Σεβαστή*. She was, however, not called *Livia* after 14 A. D. Thus the inscription probably dates from before Augustus' death and should be restored *Σεβ[αστοῦ]*. The *Ἑγλία Σεβαστή* of *C. I. A.*, III, 460, is apparently not Livia but merely *Salus Augusta*; Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 156. For the opposing view, see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich, 1931), p. 99.

⁴⁵ *I. G.*, XII, 7, no. 381 A, B.

⁴⁶ H. Hepding, "Der Kult der Euergetai," *Klio*, XX (1925), pp. 490-1.

⁴⁷ *B. C. H.*, X (1886), p. 516, no. 6. Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, points out that it is possible that these were two separate priesthoods held by one man.

⁴⁸ The figure described, *B. M. C. Lydia*, p. 344, nos. 114-120, "Livia as Demeter," appears to be rather Livia as Hecate, especially in view of the crescent moon which is her attribute (see *B. M. C. Lydia*, p. 341,

At Clazomenae, Livia's portrait on coins bore the legend: $\Theta\epsilon\alpha \Lambda\iota\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$,⁴⁹ and at Methymna, on Lesbos, she was given the same title.⁵⁰ In Chalcis, games called $\Lambda\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$ were celebrated,⁵¹ and in Egypt a triennial contest was given in honor of $\Theta\epsilon\alpha \Lambda\iota\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and others.⁵²

Often the imperial couple was associated with Euthenia (Greek equivalent of the Roman *Abundantia*⁵³) or with Demeter. Alexandrian coins of Augustus and Livia carry on their reverse the figure of Euthenia, the *calathos* between torches, or the double cornucopia.⁵⁴ The seated Demeter on the reverse of Pergamene coins was probably intended to represent Livia;⁵⁵ at least it is very similar to figures of Livia on Roman coins. It is known that the $\Theta\epsilon\omega\iota \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\iota$ were included in the mysteries of Demeter at Ephesus,⁵⁶ and on Lesbos,⁵⁷ and it seems probable that this was the case in Pergamum also, for statues of Augustus, the elder Agrippina, and a Claudian prince were found in Demeter's enclosure there.⁵⁸

On the island of Cyprus, a calendar dating probably from 15 B. C. shows honorific months of various members of the imperial family: Livia, Octavia, and, if the restoration be correct, Julia, are here included.⁵⁹ Livia's month is called $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ and begins on the second day of December.

no. 97, and Index, p. 389). The figures here represented are identified as Hecate, but they are very similar to the figure described earlier as Livia-Demeter.

⁴⁹ *B. M. C. Ionia*, p. 31, no. 118.

⁵⁰ J. H. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (Vienna, 1792-1828), VI, p. 148. I have been unable to find this coin cited elsewhere.

⁵¹ *B. C. H.*, III (1879), p. 443.

⁵² *P. Oxy.* XVIII, 2105, 4. The other names are lost.

⁵³ See Waser, "Euthenia," *R.-E.* VI, col. 1498.

⁵⁴ Livia had the honorary right of coinage in Egypt, which apparently meant that she was regarded there as sharing power with Augustus. See J. Vogt, *Alexandrinische Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 14.

⁵⁵ *B. M. C. Mysia*, Pl. XXVIII, 7. Cf. H. Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV (1910), p. 443.

⁵⁶ Dittenberger, *Syl.*, no. 655.

⁵⁷ *I. G.*, XII, 2, 205, 484, line 11.

⁵⁸ Hepding, *loc. cit.*, p. 443.

⁵⁹ W. Kubitschek, "Die Kalenderbücher von Florenz, Rom, und Leyden," *Wiener Denkschr.*, LVII, 3 (1915). See also K. Scott, "The

In the East, the pattern of honors and cult for imperial personages had now been laid. The cult of Livia was to grow in importance and her honors increase in number; in kind, they were to remain much the same.⁶⁰

2. THE EMPRESS MOTHER.

The will of Augustus stipulated that Livia was to be adopted into the Julian family and was to receive the title "*Augusta*."⁶¹ Tiberius, who was to have received the title "*Augustus*" refused to accept it, but apparently his objections were overruled, since he is given the title in formal documents of the period.⁶² The purpose of Augustus in providing these distinctions for Livia is open to various interpretations. Her adoption into the *gens Julia* may merely have been designed to strengthen Tiberius' claim to the imperial succession; the title "*Augusta*," however, seemed almost to raise her to equality with the emperor himself;⁶³ at least the senate seemed to be inclined to interpret it

Honorific Months in Greek and Roman Calendars," *Yale Class. Stud.*, II (1931), pp. 201 f.

⁶⁰ It has been suggested that, even as early as this, a first step was taken toward including the empress in the military cult; see R. Fink's footnote, *Yale Class. Stud.*, VII (1940), p. 174. The evidence cited is a drinking cup from Vetera bearing Livia's portrait and a scabbard on which her likeness appears; see L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), pp. 264 f. and 315 f. and H. Lehner, *Bonner Jhb.*, CXXII (1912), pp. 430-5. It would seem, however, that if a single scabbard and cup are the only evidence, one can hardly assume that at this early date there already was a tendency to include the empress in the military cult.

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 8; Dio, LVI, 46. Strangely, she is already *Julia* in *C. I. G.*, XII, 2, 60 and 2, 588.

⁶² The literature on the title "*Augustus*" is copious. K. Scott, "Tiberius' Refusal of the Title Augustus," *C. P.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 42-50, summarizes the various theories regarding its significance and comes to the conclusion that it definitely suggested divinity and that this is Tiberius' reason for refusing it. This also explains why he himself employed the title in letters to kings and princes of eastern states in which it was his policy to encourage the imperial cult. See also M. A. Koops, *Mnemos.*, ser. III, V (1937), pp. 34 ff.

⁶³ Mommsen was of the opinion that Augustus intended to make Livia co-regent with Tiberius (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, II, 2, p. 773, note 2). Ciaceri, *Tiberio, successore di Augusto* (Milan, 1934), p. 54, states his belief that Augustus never intended a co-regency. See also E. Korne-

so and voted her many extraordinary privileges. As the first priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus, she was to be attended by a lictor.⁶⁴ It was voted that an altar be erected to commemorate her adoption,⁶⁵ and the proposal was made that she receive the title *parens patriae* or *mater patriae*;⁶⁶ and finally, it was even suggested that to Tiberius' titles be added "*filius Iuliae*." All of these honors Tiberius promptly vetoed, declaring that the honors of women must be kept within bounds, and adding that he intended to use the same restraint in respect to honors voted to himself.⁶⁷ At this time the senate also proposed that the month September be changed to *Tiberius* and October to *Livius*, and this proposal too was vetoed by Tiberius, with the query, "What will you do when you will have had thirteen emperors?"⁶⁸

The policy of Tiberius in regard to the honors offered Livia during his régime was a consistent one and was apparently motivated by two careful considerations: In regard to divine honors he followed the precedent of Augustus in discouraging the establishment of an actual cult of living persons in Italy,⁶⁹ while outside of Italy, he tried to regulate his own cult and that of the house in such a way that it might not detract from the unique eminence of Augustus.⁷⁰ In regard to civil honors for

mann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 40, and Sandels, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, and Dio, LVII, 12. Eitrem sees in Dio's version an allusion to the idea of Livia as a divine androgynous ruler (*Symb. Osl.*, XV [1936], pp. 132 ff.).

⁶⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 14. In spite of the rejection of these honors, bronze coins of Leptis show Livia as "*Augusta, mater patriae*" (Cohen, I, p. 165, no. 807), and coins of Romula in Spain have her bust supported by a sphere with the legend, "*Genetrix Orbis*" (Cohen, I, p. 169, no. 3). An inscription of Anticaria in Baetica also gives her the title *Genetrix Orbis* (*C. I. L.*, II, 2038. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 649 f. See too Alföldi, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, and F. Sauter, "Der römischer Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius," *Tübinger Beiträge*, XXI [1934], p. 30).

⁶⁸ Dio, LVII, 18, 2.

⁶⁹ Scott, *C. P.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 43-50.

⁷⁰ See p. 240 below; also M. Rostovtzeff, "L'empereur Tibère et le Culte impérial," *R. H.*, CLXIII (1930), pp. 1-26, and L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honors," *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1929), pp. 87-

Livia he had a somewhat different problem; she herself apparently interpreted the provisions of Augustus' will as investing her with extraordinary powers. At least her actions seemed to indicate this: She held formal audiences and had them recorded in the *Acta Diurna*; ⁷¹ she signed agreements with vassal states together with Tiberius; ⁷² and when she and Tiberius together erected a statue of Augustus, she saw to it that in the inscription her name preceded that of the emperor. ⁷³ Unless a double principate was actually to be set up in the state, it was necessary that some limit be placed on the ambitions of the empress-mother, and the policy of Tiberius was calculated to set such a limit.

As wife and priestess of the new *divus*, Livia was much in the public eye immediately after his death and consecration. She began almost at once to help plan a temple for the new divinity, ⁷⁴ and she herself instituted the *Ludi Palatini* in his honor. ⁷⁵ It was probably at about this time that the wedding day of Augustus and Livia was made a public holiday. ⁷⁶ Ovid, in celebrating the apotheosis of Augustus, was already at this time prophesying the deification of Julia Augusta:

Sic Augusta novum Julia numen erit. ⁷⁷

Coins commemorating Augustus' consecration carried on their reverse a feminine figure holding a patera and sceptre, obviously

101. Miss Taylor sees in Tiberius' refusals an illustration of this policy of following the Augustan precedent but points out that his refusals were so worded as to encourage their being disregarded.

⁷¹ Dio, LVII, 12; LVI, 47. Suetonius, *Tib.*, 50; Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 57.

⁷² Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 42.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, III, 64; *C. I. L.*, I², pp. 236 and 316; Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 64. Jean Gagé discusses this incident and concludes that in regard to the inscription of a statue of the deified Augustus, Livia's claim to precedence was justified by her position as priestess of his cult and adoptive daughter of the *divus*; see "Divus Augustus," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIV (1931), p. 16.

⁷⁴ Pliny, *N. H.*, XII, 94, describes the temple as built by Livia; it was, however, built by Tiberius and Livia jointly. See Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.

⁷⁵ Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, p. 231.

⁷⁶ *Not. Scav.* (1923), p. 197. See also H. Dessau, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, pp. 4 f.

⁷⁷ *Fasti*, I, 536.

the priestess of the new cult.⁷⁸ Soon after this, Tiberius' coins show on their reverse a feminine figure holding a sceptre and branch. Whether this figure of *Pax* was definitely intended to represent Livia cannot be determined, but the idea of so identifying it was almost certainly suggested to the public by the fact that the similar figure on previous coins represented her.⁷⁹

When in 22 A. D. Livia was dangerously ill, vows were taken for her safety, and an altar was vowed for her recovery which was not, however, executed until the time of Claudius, that is after her death and consecration.⁸⁰ Though the dedication "*Pietati Augustae*" was not made until so much later, coins of 22 A. D. bore the legend, "*Pietas*," together with an idealized likeness of Livia.⁸¹ Her portrait, likewise highly idealized, appeared also on coins, with the legends, "*Iustitia*" and "*Salus Augusta*."⁸²

⁷⁸ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 95, no. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 103, no. 3 and p. 99.

⁸⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 64; *C. I. L.*, VI, 562.

⁸¹ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 106, no. 24.

⁸² Some have seen in *Salus* a portrait of Livilla, and in *Iustitia* a portrait of Antonia, but it seems unlikely that this honor should have been conferred upon them. Alföldi (*loc. cit.*, p. 123) recognizes only *Salus* as Livia and the other two as pure abstractions. His chief objection to identifying *Iustitia* and *Pietas* as Livia is that they wear the slender diadem which rises slightly to the fore, an ornament which the Julio-Claudian women do not elsewhere wear in coin portraits. Since he admits, however, that they do wear it on gem-portraits, it is difficult to see why it should be completely ruled out for coin portraits, particularly where the empress is being identified with an abstraction. Mattingly, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 100, describes the three types as follows: "The three beautiful heads of *Pietas*, *Iustitia*, and *Salus*, are generally held to be struck in honor of Livia, although her name does not occur on the coins. They are, doubtless, a graceful tribute on the part of the senate to her qualities of devotion to the memory of Augustus, her integrity, and her position as mainstay of the imperial house." See also M. Bernhardt, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), p. 32, who likewise identifies these coin portraits as Livia.

These coin-types were in use for years and were copied by various colonies. In Spain, the colony Emerita used the *Salus*-type (Cohen, I, p. 172, no. 12); Caesarea Augusta used the *Pietas*-type (*ibid.*, p. 173, nos. 17, 18); while Italica represented Livia in a rather similar pose as priestess of Augustus, with the legend, "*Augusta*" (*ibid.*, I, p. 173, no. 16). At Dium, a coin appeared carrying the *Iustitia*-type bust but

It is possible that, on the occasion of the vowing of the altar, a statue was erected, showing Livia in the guise of *Pietas*. At least this type is found in the sculpture of the period. A colossal bust in the garden of the Villa Albani and a smaller bust in the Uffizi Gallery reproduce it.⁸³ A Florentine gem carries a portrait almost identical with the coin type.⁸⁴ The *Iustitia*-type is seen in statues of the Torlonia collection at Rome and of the Lateran Museum.⁸⁵

In 22 A. D. the first coin to bear the name of the empress-mother was issued: Showing a *carpentum* drawn by two mules, it carried the legend, "*S.P.Q.R. Iuliae August(ae)*."⁸⁶ Though it distinctly resembles the funeral coins on which the *carpentum* figures, it apparently commemorates either the *supplicatio* which the senate decreed for her at this time or the rights of the Vestals granted her, one of which was the privilege of using the *carpentum*.⁸⁷

It was perhaps at this time that a public birthday celebration in Rome was granted Livia. The earliest record of it is from 27 A. D., when the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren record: *Taurus Statilius Corvinus promagister collegii fratrum Arvalium*

showing the legend, "*Pietas Augusta*" (*Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, XLI [1925], pp. 135-6). At Thessalonike the same type shows the legend, "Sebaste" (*B. M. C. Macedonia*, p. 117, nos. 77 ff.). Coins of Syrtica and Byzantium have the *Salus*-type head, the former without a legend, the latter with the legend: Θεὰ Σεβαστή (Cohen, I, p. 174, no. 25 and p. 172, note 1). See too Lieglé, "*Pietas*," *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, II (1935), p. 67.

⁸³ J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* (Berlin-Stuttgart, 1882-94), II, p. 106, no. 14.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107, no. 18.

⁸⁶ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 106, no. 21; Pl. VI, no. 104; note to p. 106: "varieties of this type omitting '*S.P.Q.R.*,' with the dates *Tr. Pot. XXXV* and *XXXVI* cannot be verified" (Cohen, I, p. 171, nos. 7, 8, cites these).

⁸⁷ *R. I. C.*, I, pp. 99 f. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 64. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, X (1910), p. 293, takes no notice of the date but calls this one of the first examples of funeral coins. Apparently the privilege of using the *carpentum* applied merely to special holidays; later the honor was also granted Messalina and Agrippina; see Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX (1934), pp. 106 f.; A. Mau, "*Carpentum*," *R.-E.*, III, col. 1606, and A. Abaecherli, *Boll. dell'Assoz. Internazionale Stud. Mediterr.* (1935-6), pp. 5-7.

*nomine natali Iuliae Augustae in Capitolio Iovi Optimo Maximo bovem marem inmolavit.*⁸⁸ It is worth noting that Tiberius did not veto this honor for his mother though he had originally refused to accept it for himself.⁸⁹

Livia's birthday was also publicly celebrated in other parts of Italy. The inscription of Forum Clodi, already mentioned, records such a celebration for the year 18 A. D.⁹⁰ The first part is a provision by the *decuriones* for a birthday celebration of Augustus and Tiberius, while the latter part is a provision by the *duumviri* for the passing out of sweetmeats and wine to the women of the *vicus ad Bonam Deam*. Why this birthday celebration is to include only the women of this particular *vicus* one can only guess. The *vicus* is apparently named for a small shrine located within it. Does the term "*Bona Dea*" which so often figures merely as the title of other goddesses here signify the *Juno*? If *Bona Dea* is here a kind of *dea natalis* it would explain why the women of this particular *vicus* have an exclusive celebration of Livia's birthday.⁹¹ Another birthday celebration is recorded for Livia in an inscription of an unknown colony which provides for a banquet of the *decuriones* and *augustales* and a gladiatorial show.⁹² In the East, the birthday celebration of the *Θεοὶ Σεβαστοί* at Pergamum, of course, continued after the death of Augustus.⁹³

No cult of Livia existed in Rome during this period, but

⁸⁸ Henzen, *Acta*, XLIII; Suetonius, *Tib.*, 26; Dio, LVII, 8; LVIII, 12. See also W. Schmidt, *Geburstag im Altertum* (Diss., Giessen, 1908), p. 71. The character of such a celebration is indicated by the fact that, whereas from now on most of the women of the imperial family received this honor during their lifetime, none of the men except the emperor himself received it before death.

⁸⁹ He did, nevertheless, eventually receive it. See Suetonius, *Tib.*, 5, and also Taylor, *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1929), p. 94.

⁹⁰ See p. 227 above; *C. I. L.*, XI, 3303.

⁹¹ Cf. *C. I. L.*, XI, 2996: "*Bon(ae) deae August(ae)*"; see Taylor, "Local Cults in Etruria," *Papers and Monographs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, II (1923), pp. 104 and 134 f. For a recent discussion of the significance of the *Bona Dea*, see A. Greifenhagen, "*Bona Dea*," *Röm. Mitt.*, LII (1937), pp. 227-44; especially p. 243.

⁹² *C. I. L.*, VI, 29681. Miss Taylor (*T. A. P. A.*, XLV [1914], p. 240, note 27) suggests that this is Trebula Suffenatium in Latium.

⁹³ See p. 230 above.

throughout Italy in various towns, some of them near Rome, inscriptions show the existence of priestesses of Julia Augusta. Minturnae in Latium, Pompeii, Aeclanum in Samnium, Polla in Lucania, and Vibo in Bruttium had priestesses of her cult.⁹⁴ Outside of Italy, in the West, Salonae in Dalmatia and Olisipo in Lusitania had priests; Vasio and Baeterrae in Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaulos, had priestesses.⁹⁵

It has been shown that the so-called priests of Augustus in the period of his lifetime were in all probability priests of the cult of his *Genius*.⁹⁶ Since Tiberius attempted to follow meticulously the precedent of Augustus, it seems equally probable that the priests of Tiberius in Italy during his régime were priests of his *Genius* also, and that the priests and priestesses of Julia Augusta were devoted to the cult of her *Juno*. There are, however, some exceptions to this: On the island of Gaulos, her own priestess dedicated an offering to her as *Ceres*,⁹⁷ and in an Italian town offerings were apparently made to her as *Ceres Augusta*.⁹⁸ It has been pointed out that the coins of Tiberius show Livia in a Junoesque pose, and it may be that coins of Thapsus showing a Juno-like figure with the inscription *Juno*

⁹⁴ *C. I. L.*, X, 6018 and 961; IX, 1154; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9390; *C. I. L.*, X, 51. The last mentioned (at Vibo) is a feminine "*sacerd. Aug.*," almost certainly a priestess of Livia. See also F. Geiger, *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus* (Diss., Halle, 1913), pp. 37 ff.

⁹⁵ *C. I. L.*, III, 14712; *C. I. L.*, II, 194 [this priest, in Olisipo, is also a *flamen Germ(anici Caesaris)*]; *C. I. L.*, XII, 1363 and 4249; *C. I. L.*, X, 7501.

⁹⁶ L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime," *T. A. P. A.*, LI (1920); and *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, pp. 215-18.

⁹⁷ *C. I. L.*, X, 7501.

⁹⁸ The location is not known: *C. I. L.*, XI, 3196. It seems probable that *Ceres Augusta* is Livia, since by this time (18 A. D.) her connection with Ceres appears to have been well established. In addition to the Gaulos inscription, there are coins of Panormus which represent her with the attributes of Ceres (*B. M. C. Sicily*, p. 125, no. 47), and possibly the figure on coins of Africa which bears a close resemblance to the Ceres of the Sicilian coins is an idealization of her portrait: Müller, *Num. Afr.*, I, p. 150, nos. 317 f. See also Mattingly, *C. R. E. B. M.*, I, p. 211, no. 821. These coins of Tiberius may also represent Livia as Ceres.

Augusta were inspired by the figure on Roman coins and were meant to honor Livia.⁹⁹

The attitude of Tiberius toward the imperial cult in the various parts of the empire is well known from his answers to the proposals made by Asia, Gytheion, and Baetica in regard to cult honors. Asia was permitted to build a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the Roman Senate;¹⁰⁰ in Gytheion, Tiberius approved the institution of a cult for Augustus, refused a cult for himself (though in unconvincing terms), and left the decision in regard to a cult of Julia Augusta to his mother herself.¹⁰¹ As for Baetica, it was not permitted to build a temple to Tiberius and his mother, and Tacitus has recorded the decision of Tiberius as follows: *Omnes per provincias effigies numinum sacrari ambitiosum superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscuis adulationibus vulgatur.*¹⁰²

That Livia and Tiberius differed in their attitude toward the imperial cult has already been seen in her accepting the honor of a public birthday celebration, whereas he rejected it. Her answer to the Gythiates apparently also differed from his, for she was honored there as the *Tyche* of the city. His rejection, to be sure, was overruled, but there is no indication that she gave anything but an unqualified acceptance. The first day of the *Kaisareia* of Gytheion was sacred to Augustus; the second to Tiberius; the third to Livia, Ἰουλία Σεβαστή ἡ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως Τύχη, the fourth to the Nike of Germanicus; the fifth to the Aphrodite of Drusus.¹⁰³ In the procession which began

⁹⁹ Müller, *op. cit.*, II, p. 47, nos. 12, 13, 14. See too Ward, *loc. cit.*, pp. 221 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 55 ff. Coins struck in honor of the occasion show a tetrastyle temple and Tiberius in pontifical robes; *B. M. C. Ionia*, 368, *Smyrna*, 266, 268.

¹⁰¹ S. B. Kougeas, Ἑλληνικά, I (Athens, 1928), pp. 7 ff.; E. Kornemann, *Abh. d. Schles. Gesellsch. f. Vaterländ. Kultur*, I (1929), pp. 1 ff.; L. Wenger, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, XLIV (1929), pp. 308 ff.; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *R. H.*, CLXIII (1930), pp. 1 ff.; G. di Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.*, VI (1928), p. 586; H. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.*, XXIX (1929), pp. 84 ff.; O. Immisch, "Zum Antiken Herrscherkulte," *Aus Roms Zeitwende* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 9 f.; S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose," *Symb. Osl.*, X (1932), pp. 43 ff.

¹⁰² Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 37.

¹⁰³ For possible interpretations of the "Aphrodite of Drusus," see Taylor, *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1929), p. 88 and Kornemann, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

each day's celebration painted images of Augustus and Livia were carried side by side, while that of Tiberius followed. The celebration as a whole has been described in detail elsewhere. The sacrifice was apparently a *lectisternium* according to the Greek tradition, and the sight of Augustus and Livia side by side at the feast must have suggested to the audience a comparison with Jupiter and Juno, who were so often seen in the same position. A statue of Livia as Tyche bore the inscription: *τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως*.

While inscriptions honoring Julia Augusta in the East during this period are numerous, there are, strangely enough, only a few which cite priestesses of an organized cult: Mylae, Cyzicus, Larisa, Samos, and Aphrodisias.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile she was, however, widely honored as a goddess: on coins of Pergamum and of Macedonia she appeared as Demeter;¹⁰⁵ at Aphrodisias in Caria, she had a cult as Demeter,¹⁰⁶ and at Lampsacus, she is curiously honored as *Ἰουλία Σεβαστή Ἑστία νέα Δημήτηρ*.¹⁰⁷

The identification of Livia with Hera also continued during this period. At Mylae she had a priestess and cult as *Ἰουλία Ἥρα Σεβαστή*.¹⁰⁸ At Tarsus coin portraits give her the attributes of Hera.¹⁰⁹ At Assos she is *Θεὰ Λειονία Ἥρα νέα Σεβαστή*.¹¹⁰ At Magnesia ad Sipylum a coin shows her with the legend *Σεβαστῆς Ἥρα*.¹¹¹ The Pergamene inscription cited previously,¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ *C. I. G.*, II, 333; *I. G. R.*, IV, 144; *I. G.*, XII, 2, 333; *I. G. R.*, IV, 984; *C. I. G.*, II, 2815.

¹⁰⁵ H. von Fritze, "Die Münzen von Pergamon," *Abh. Preuss. Akad.* (1910), p. 79 and Pl. VII, 3; and *B. M. C. Mysia*, Pl. XXVIII, 7.

¹⁰⁶ *C. I. G.*, II, 2815.

¹⁰⁷ *I. G. R.*, IV, 180. This inscription was set up by the Gerousia, but the celebration given in honor of Livia is financed by a priest of the *Sebastoi* who is also *Stephanephoros* of the whole house and *tamias* of the people.

¹⁰⁸ *C. I. G.*, II, 333.

¹⁰⁹ *B. M. C. Cilicia*, pref. p. xc.

¹¹⁰ *I. G. R.*, IV, 249. The combination of the name, *Livia*, and the title, *Sebaste*, is strange. Since Roman businessmen join with the citizens of Assos in erecting this monument, it seems likely that the use of the title, *Sebaste*, indicates a date after 14 A. D.

¹¹¹ T. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques Grecques et Romains*, IV, p. 72, no. 389; P. Riewald, *De Imperatorum Romanorum cum Certis Dis et Comparatione et Aequatione* (Halle, 1912), no. 45. See also note 12 above.

¹¹² See p. 230 above.

which honored her as Hera, apparently belongs to this period, since she is called *Julia*. At Athens, she was given the epithet, *Πρόνοια*, a title of Hera, which also suggests the Roman *Providentia*.¹¹³

Where Livia was not actually identified with a divinity, she was sometimes closely associated with some goddess. In Samos, we find a priestess τῆς Ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἡρας καὶ Θεᾶς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς.¹¹⁴ At Cyzicus she was σύνναος of Athena Polias as Σεβαστή Νικηφόρος, that is, she was given the attributes of the goddess who had helped the people of Cyzicus in the Mithradatic war.¹¹⁵

On coins of Mytilene, Livia appears not as any particular goddess incarnate but merely as Ἰουλία Θεὰ Σεβαστή.¹¹⁶ An inscription found between Thyatira and Hierapolis, if correctly restored, celebrates her in the same way.¹¹⁷ At Apollonia, an inscription honoring the whole imperial house gives Livia the title Θεὰ Ἰουλία.¹¹⁸ At Ancyra, a Galatian erected statues of Tiberius and Livia in the temple of Augustus.¹¹⁹

In Egypt, Livia's name was used in the marriage oath: ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς, quite possibly as a result of her identification with Juno.¹²⁰ At Rome, Dio tells us she was known as a very practical patroness of marriage, for she paid the dowries of numerous girls from good but impoverished families.¹²¹

¹¹³ *C. I. A.*, III, 461. Cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹¹⁴ *I. G. R.*, IV, 984.

¹¹⁵ *I. G. R.*, IV, 144; Riewald, *op. cit.*, no. 128. Nock (*loc. cit.*, p. 30) points out that the σύνναος θεός is a far less common phenomenon than has formerly been thought, but he does recognize that here Livia was σύνναος of Athena.

¹¹⁶ *B. M. C. Troas*, p. 204, nos. 187-92.

¹¹⁷ *Ann. Epigr.* (1909), p. 189.

¹¹⁸ *I. G. R.*, III, 312.

¹¹⁹ *I. G. R.*, III, 157.

¹²⁰ Wilcken, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, XXX (1909), pp. 504 ff. Examples of the formula: *B. G. U.*, 252, 2/3 (98 A. D.); *P. Oxy.*, III, 496 (127 A. D.); *C. P. R.*, 24, 2 (136 A. D.); *P. Oxy.*, III, 604 (early second century).

¹²¹ Dio, LVIII, 2, 3. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it became customary for bridal couples to take their marriage oath in the presence of statues of the emperor and empress. Offerings were apparently also made by the couple to the emperor and empress: *C. I. L.*, XIV, 5326.

Two days, Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί, were also celebrated in her honor in Egypt, not in connection with her birthday but rather as an extension of the Ptolemaic ἡμέραι τοῦ βασιλέως, which now included the Roman imperial family. Since days of the Roman women were hereafter usually not eponymous, the name of Livia stands as an exception.¹²²

When in 19 A. D. Germanicus on his journey to the Orient arrived in Alexandria, the populace, in great enthusiasm, offered some type of divine honor to him and to Livia. We do not know its exact nature, but the reply of Germanicus is extant: "I decline the invidious honors proposed by you for me. They are fitting only for the savior and benefactor of mankind, namely my father, and for his mother, my grandmother."¹²³ Livia's attitude in this matter is unknown, but, in view of her general policy in regard to divine honors, it seems likely that she accepted.

Various works of art of Tiberius' régime represent Livia with the attributes of deity. A Paris cameo shows her seated beside Tiberius in the same attitude and position as the emperor, holding in her hand the poppy and corn of Ceres.¹²⁴ Together they are welcoming the triumphant Germanicus.

A sardonix in the Vienna Museum¹²⁵ shows her seated, holding in her right hand a bust of the deified Augustus. Her left hand rests on a tympanum; her fingers clasp a sheaf of poppies;

¹²² *P. Oxy.*, II, 283, line 21: Καίσαρεϊος ιε Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ (during Claudius' reign); *ibid.*, 264: *Caesareus* 15 is called merely Σεβαστή; *O. G. I.*, II, 669, 3: Φαῶφι α' Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ (under Galba).

¹²³ Wilamowitz and Zucker, "Zwei Edikte d. Germanicus auf einem Berliner Papyrus," *Berl. Sitzb.* (1911), pp. 794 ff. Letronne, *Rec.* 228 (*I. G. R.*, I, 1150) restores an inscription of Athribis, in lower Egypt, filling in "Ἴσις" after the name of Livia. He is able to cite no other instance of her identification with Isis, but gives as his argument the fact that Cleopatra had that title.

¹²⁴ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Bernoulli, II, 275-299; Furtwaengler, *Die Antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900), II, Pl. LVI; Walters, *The Art of the Romans* (N. Y., 1911), pp. 119 f. Curtius' new identification of the figures here shown is not convincing (*Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX [1934], pp. 119-156). Mrs. Strong (*C. A. H.*, Plates IV, 156) reverts to Bernoulli's interpretation of the cameo. J. Gagé, "La Victoria Augusti et les auspices de Tibère," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXII (1930), p. 19, suggests the possibility that Livia here represents *Felicitas*.

¹²⁵ Bernoulli, II, 94, 3b, Pl. XXVII, 2.

and she wears the mural crown of Cybele. The figure of a lion can be dimly seen on the tympanum. Aschbach interpreted this as *Leo*, the constellation of Livia, as Capricorn was the sign of Augustus. It seems, however, that, since the lion nowhere else appears in connection with Livia, and since a lion was the regular concomitant of Cybele, it is here intended to represent merely another attribute of that goddess.¹²⁶

A Florentine sardonix shows a portrait very similar to that of the Cybele gem mentioned above, but the head is here crowned with corn and poppies and is veiled in the manner of Ceres.¹²⁷ The Berlin Museum also has a gem very similar to this one.¹²⁸

A cameo in the British Museum collection represents her diademed and veiled, holding a cornucopia on which is a bust of the deified Augustus.¹²⁹ Another, in the same collection, shows her seated above the mouth of a cornucopia; she holds a patera as priestess of Augustus, and her throne is surrounded by fruits, a pine cone, and barley.¹³⁰ A third, which is generally thought to be a representation of Livia (though the identification is not certain), is a beautiful intaglio portrait of a woman with the attributes of Ceres, surrounded by a border of other deities cut in relief.¹³¹

A Ceres-statue of the Louvre has been recognized by some as a portrait of Livia with the attributes of that goddess,¹³² but this identification is also uncertain.

The two statues similar to the *Pietas* coin-type have already been mentioned.¹³³ A Florentine gem also has this type of portrait, with the inscription "*Lib. Aug.*"¹³⁴ Either this is a late copy made by someone not familiar with Livia's titles, or it is a forgery.

¹²⁶ Aschbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 78. See also Daremberg-Saglio, I, ii, pp. 1686 f., and S. Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, T. 3, 12.

¹²⁷ Bernoulli, II, 95c; Pl. XXVII, 6.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 105 i.

¹²⁹ *B. M. C. Gems*, 1977.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3580.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 1568.

¹³² Bernoulli, II, 101 ff.

¹³³ P. 237 above.

¹³⁴ Bernoulli, II, 95. Or, as M. L. W. Laistner suggests, "*Lib*" may represent a personification of *Libertas*.

A statue of the Torlonia collection at Rome¹³⁵ shows her wearing the large diadem without a veil, which is characteristic of the *Iustitia*-coins. A statue in the Lateran Museum¹³⁶ is of the same general type and may represent Livia.

The tendency of the art of the period seems to have been to stress her office as priestess of Augustus and her association with the deities of plenty and fertility. The general idea expressed is that, since Augustus is no longer on earth but has taken his place among the divinities, his blessings must come to the Roman people through the mediation of his priestess, Julia Augusta.

3. THE DIVA.

When, in 29 A. D., Livia died, at the age of eighty-six,¹³⁷ Tiberius, who was absent from Rome, did not hasten his return, and, in fact, tarried so long that the condition of the corpse made it necessary that it be buried at once. The funeral was public but simple.¹³⁸ There were the usual ancestral images, a panegyric was pronounced by the seventeen-year-old Gaius, greatgrandson of Livia,¹³⁹ and her ashes were placed in the mausoleum of Augustus. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius all state that Tiberius expressly forbade the deification of his mother, and Tacitus and Suetonius add that he gave as his reason that she herself had directed this.¹⁴⁰ Both authors imply that the reason given was false, as it almost certainly was. The fact that Livia was deeply devoted to the cult of Augustus is, of course, not sufficient evidence that she was in favor of being herself consecrated; her attitude toward cult honors during her lifetime seems, however, to indicate that she would not have been displeased at the prospect of being deified at death: She welcomed the title *Augusta*; she accepted the honor of a public birthday celebration; she appears to have favored the cult

¹³⁵ Bernoulli, II, 107, 17.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁷ Dio, LVIII, 2.

¹³⁸ "*Funus modicum*," Tacitus, *Ann.*, V, 1.

¹³⁹ For the details of the funeral, see Dio, LVIII, 2; Tacitus, *Ann.*, V, 1 and 2; Suetonius, *Tib.*, 51.

¹⁴⁰ Suetonius: . . . *prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsum mandasset*. Tacitus: . . . *ne caelestis religio decerneretur, sic ipsam maluisse*.

practices of Gytheion; at the death of Germanicus' small son, she set up in the temple of Venus a statue of the child with the attributes of Cupid.¹⁴¹ It seems likely that Tacitus and Suetonius are right in implying that she desired to become a *diva*.

Since Tiberius forbade her deification, the senate could not, of course, overrule him, but it did vote whatever honors it could to her memory. Mourning was ordered for women, and it was decreed that an arch be erected to her memory, because she had preserved not a few of them, had reared many children belonging to citizens and had helped to find husbands for numerous girls, "for all of which acts some called her mother of her country."¹⁴² The fact that mourning was decreed shows that the honors voted Livia were not of a divine nature. At the death of Augustus, Tiberius had expressly stated that there was to be no mourning.¹⁴³ One could not mourn the deification of an individual, for to mourn would be to doubt. When Caligula deified Drusilla, he had difficulty in deciding whether grief or joy should be the proper reaction of his subjects. Dio states that both displeased him.¹⁴⁴ It is clear that the decree of mourning made in Livia's case was an honor leading away from, rather than toward, deification.

The arch which the senate decreed for Livia Tiberius himself promised to construct, but afterwards he did nothing toward fulfilling his promise.¹⁴⁵

When Caligula acceded to the imperial power, he executed the will of Livia, which Tiberius had failed to do, but he did not effect her consecration.¹⁴⁶ Her deification, therefore, did not take place until 41 A. D., when Claudius, in order to strengthen his connection with the imperial house, not only devised new honors for the divine Augustus, but also consecrated his grandmother Livia.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Suetonius, *Calig.*, 7.

¹⁴² Dio, LVIII, 2.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, LVI, 41.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, LIX, 11.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, LIX, 2. See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (1934), p. 26.

¹⁴⁷ Suetonius, *Claud.*, 11; Dio, LX, 5; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 9. In the Suetonian passage cited above, the reading must, for obvious reasons, be: *cognomen Augustae ab viva recusatum*, and not *ab avia recusatum*.

In the interim between her death and consecration, various honors and dedications to her, no doubt, continued, but it is difficult to identify the inscriptions belonging to this period, because she is still "Julia Augusta," as she had been in her lifetime. It is, of course, possible that Tiberius' discouragement of honors for his mother diminished the number of dedications during this period.

Livia's birthday continued to be celebrated in Rome after her death and before her consecration. Tacitus relates that a certain Cotta Messalinus ironically referred to the banquet of priests on Augusta's birthday as a "funeral feast," insinuating that it could be nothing but that, since she had not yet been consecrated.¹⁴⁸

Velleius Paterculus, writing soon after Livia's death, paid her the tribute of describing her as *per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina*.¹⁴⁹

The consecration ceremony of women has nowhere been described, but it seems likely that it was, at least in some degree, copied from that of the emperors. At the time of Livia's consecration, in 41 A. D., three *divi* had been recognized by the senate: Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Drusilla, the sister of Caligula. In the deification of both Augustus and Drusilla, the ascension was witnessed. At Augustus' funeral, an eagle, released from the pyre, soared aloft, seeming to carry the soul of the dead emperor to the skies, and a praetorian swore that he had seen the spirit of the deceased ascend into the heavens.¹⁵⁰ At Drusilla's death, Livius Geminus, a man of senatorial rank, swore that he had seen Drusilla rising into the skies.¹⁵¹ After the testimony of those witnessing the ascension, the senate, in

It is worth noting that, while Claudius had various honors voted to his mother, Antonia, and to Drusus, he did not consecrate them.

¹⁴⁸ *Ann.*, VI, 5. The *Acta* of the *Arvales* (Henzen, XLIII) show a birthday celebration in 38 A. D.

¹⁴⁹ II, 130.

¹⁵⁰ Dio, LVI, 34; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 100. For a study of consecration, see: Bernhardt, *Mitt. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, XXII (1918), pp. 136-67 (especially pp. 144 ff.) and *Handbuch z. Münzkunde d. römischen Kaiserzeit*, pp. 72-4; E. Bickerman, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XXVII (1929), pp. 1-34; G. Camozzi, *Riv. Ital. Numism.*, XIV (1901), pp. 27-53.

¹⁵¹ Suetonius, *Calig.*, 26.

each case, formally declared the deification. How was deification secured for Livia who had died twelve years earlier? It seems quite probable that such a traditionalist as Claudius would have secured the testimony of someone who had seen Livia ascend to the skies at the time of her death. All we are told of her consecration is that Claudius prevailed upon the senate to decree divine honors for her with a chariot drawn in the Circensian procession, as he had appointed for Augustus, charged the Vestal Virgins with the duty of offering the proper sacrifices, and ordered that women should use her name in taking oath.¹⁵² It was probably at the time of her consecration that coins were issued bearing the likeness of the new *diva*.¹⁵³

Whether there was any actual consecration ceremony including the release of an eagle to symbolize the carrying of the soul upward, we are not told. We know, however, that the eagle continued to be the symbol of consecration and figured in the apotheosis of women as well as that of men, though, in the case of women, the peacock often takes its place: Coins of the two Faustinas, Sabina, and Julia Maesa show the eagle; coins of Faustina the younger and Maesa, however, sometimes feature the peacock, while coins of Domitilla and Julia Domna regularly show the peacock, never the eagle.¹⁵⁴

If there was any ceremony of consecration for Livia, it probably took place on the Campus Martius; at least there is evidence

¹⁵² Dio, LX, 5.

¹⁵³ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 96, nos. 9 f. The obverse has a radiate head of Augustus and the legend: "*Divus Augustus*"; the reverse is of two slightly differing types. The one has a figure of Livia seated left, holding corn, poppy, and torch; the other has a draped bust of Livia, right. Both carry the legend: "*Diva Augusta*." Cohen cites the one coin incorrectly as issued under Tiberius, I, p. 77, no. 93. Eckhel (VI, p. 158) cites a coin which he believes commemorates her consecration with the legend: "*Diva Julia Augusta*"; Mattingly-Sydenham have, however, shown this to be the daughter of Titus (*R. I. C.*, II, p. 181, no. 216; see also Bernhardt, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54, 1).

¹⁵⁴ Faustina the elder: Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, III, p. 73, no. 387; Faustina the younger: *ibid.*, p. 273, nos. 743 ff.; p. 349, no. 1700; Sabina: *ibid.*, II, p. 479, nos. 1051 f.; Julia Maesa: *ibid.*, IV, p. 127, no. 714 (shown seated on a flying peacock); Domitilla: *ibid.*, II, p. 124, no. 70; Julia Domna: *ibid.*, IV, p. 127, no. 716; coins of Marciana and Matidia also show the eagle: *ibid.*, II, p. 299, no. 742; p. 300.

that the consecration of Sabina took place there, and the ceremony in her honor was probably patterned after the ceremonies of the earlier period.¹⁵⁵

Thereafter, the Arval Brethren sacrificed to *Diva Augusta* on the anniversary of her consecration. Our earliest evidence of this is from *Acta* probably dating from the period between 43 and 48 A. D.¹⁵⁶ After her official deification, it appears that no time was lost in organizing a cult of the *Diva*, for in the year 42 A. D. we already find evidence of a *flaminica* of *Diva Augusta* in Cirta, Africa.¹⁵⁷ It is probable that the altar vowed "*Pietati Augustae*" was finally at this time erected and dedicated in connection with her deification.¹⁵⁸

In the West, the cult of the *Diva* is easily traced, because the titles used were, to a large extent, standardized. The empress, who had been known as Livia until the death of Augustus, as Julia Augusta after his death, was now honored as *Diva Augusta*. Epigraphical evidence for a cult of Livia as *Diva* is found at Aquinum, Ostia, Aeclanum, Suasa, Albingaunum, Brixia, Messana, Cirta, Ipsca, Nertobriga, Nemausus, Vasio, Naronia, and Philippi.¹⁵⁹

The sacerdotal office in the cult of the *Diva Augusta* was always held by women.¹⁶⁰ The priestess of the deified empress was called *flaminica* or *sacerdos* though the former title was

¹⁵⁵ The bas relief depicting her apotheosis shows the Campus Martius: E. S. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 237, Pl. LXXI, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Henzen, LIV; *C. I. L.*, VI, 2032.

¹⁵⁷ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 19492. Cf. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁸ See p. 236, above, and A. D. Nock, *C. A. H.*, X, p. 498.

¹⁵⁹ *C. I. L.*, X, 5413; *C. I. L.*, XIV, 399 and *Not. Scav.* (1930), 1202; *C. I. L.*, IX, 1155; XI, 6172; V, 7788; V, 4458; X, 6978; VIII, 19492; II, 1571; *Eph. Epig.*, VIII, 382, n. 83; *C. I. L.*, XII, 3302; XII, 1361; III, 1796 and 6361; III, 651. The well preserved little temple at Vienne in Narbonese Gaul seems to have been a shrine of *divus Augustus* and *diva Augusta*. It may also have served as a temple of the *Genius Augusti* before Augustus' death (see J. Formigé, *Rev. Arch.*, XXI [1925], p. 153). In any case, the inclusion of Livia in the cult probably occurred at the time of her consecration by Claudius (*C. I. L.*, XII, 1845, and A. Allmer and A. de Terrebasse, *Inscriptions Antiques et du Moyen Age de Vienne* [Vienne, 1875], I, pp. 13 ff.).

¹⁶⁰ In the early days of her cult as Julia Augusta, there is evidence that at times male priests officiated in her cult: *C. I. L.*, III, 14712; II, 194.

more common for a priestess of the living, the latter for a priestess of the dead and consecrated empress.¹⁶¹ Municipal priests and priestesses of the imperial cult were, in the West at least, elected by the *ordo decurionum*.¹⁶² Theirs was not a paid but a gratuitous office; in fact, in some cities, the candidate for the priesthood promised certain largesses, such as spectacles and games. In Africa, the priest or priestess, upon taking office, paid a *summa legitima*, or *summa honoraria*.¹⁶³ The many instances of both *flamines* and *flaminicae* beautifying their cities with buildings and statues seem to indicate that candidates for this office were regularly wealthy and influential citizens.¹⁶⁴

In the East, a study of the cult of the *diva* is made difficult by the fact that the titles used were never standardized to any great extent, and that the term *Θεά* is used both of the consecrated and of the living empress. There is no criterion by which to classify inscriptions honoring an imperial *Θεά*. There are, however, two Greek inscriptions which seem quite definitely to refer to the consecrated Livia. One at Telmessus, in Lycia, honors a *ἱέρεια* [δὲ] *βίον Θεᾶς Σεβαστῆς*.¹⁶⁵ One at Termessus, in Pisidia, mentions a woman as *ἱερῆσαμένη Θεᾶς Σεβαστῆς*.¹⁶⁶ It would seem that the term *Θεὰ Σεβαστή* is a translation of *Diva Augusta*.

The reason that the eastern provinces took little cognizance of the consecration and official title of the consecrated emperor and empress is obvious. In the East, there was little check on the offering of divine honors to an imperial personage in his lifetime. The emperor and members of his family were freely honored as *Θεός* and *Θεά* while living. Hence the fact that the

¹⁶¹ Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁶² Beurlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 f. *Ex consensu civitatis* (C. I. L., VIII, 698) was apparently merely another way of stating the same manner of election.

¹⁶³ Beurlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 f.; C. I. L., VIII, 262, 769, 1567, 4194, 4594, 8835.

¹⁶⁴ A *flaminica* builds a theatre, C. I. L., VIII, 5365; a temple, VIII, 993; a bath, II, 1956.

¹⁶⁵ I. G. R., III, 540.

¹⁶⁶ I. G. R., III, 1507. At Termessus there is also an *ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀυγούστου* (I. G. R., III, 447).

Roman Senate eventually, after the death of an individual, declared him to be divine and gave him the title *divus* did not alter his cult or his titles in the East. Livia had been honored widely in the East during her whole long lifetime and especially after the death of Augustus, when her position as wife of the *divus* and mother of the reigning emperor gave her great prestige. She had a cult and priestesses in various eastern provinces and municipalities, as has been seen. At Pergamum, Smyrna, and Ancyra, she shared a temple with the divine *princeps* and continued to share it after her death and consecration. At Aezani she was also included in the cult of the deified Augustus, and the two were worshipped as οἱ μεγάλοι Θεοὶ ὁμοβωμίῳ Σεβασ[τοί].¹⁶⁷ This inscription was set up in the early part of Claudius' reign. Whether or not Livia's inclusion in the cult was a recent change is not indicated.

The association of the cult of Livia with that of Augustus caused it to endure longer than the cults of many of the other empresses. Galba featured her on his coins as *diva Augusta* in order to stress his claim to imperial power.¹⁶⁸ Under Titus the *Justitia* and *Pietas* coin-types were revived.¹⁶⁹ In 147-8 A. D. games in honor of Livia were still celebrated in Egypt.¹⁷⁰ When, under Antoninus, in 159 A. D., the temple of *divus Augustus* was rebuilt, Livia's statue with that of Augustus was set up in the centre of the structure.¹⁷¹ It has long been assumed that Livia was one of the *divi* to whom the Arvales sacrificed as shown by their records of 183, 218, and 224 A. D.¹⁷² The evidence of the *Feriale Duranum*, however, recently published, makes this supposition seem erroneous.¹⁷³ If, as the editors of the Dura document believe, the *Divi* included in their list are the same as those of the *fasti publici*, it seems likely

¹⁶⁷ *I. G. R.*, IV, 584. At Ancyra, *I. G. R.*, IV, 555: *ἱερε[ιαν] νέω[ν] ὁμοβωμίων*; 556: *[ἱερεὺς δεκαέτη]ς τῶν ὁμοβωμίων Θεῶν Σεβασ[τῶν]*.

¹⁶⁸ Mattingly-Sydenham, *R. I. C.*, I, p. 200, no. 3; p. 202, no. 27; p. 209, no. 99.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 144, 145, nos. 218 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *P. Oxy.*, XVII, 2105, 4.

¹⁷¹ Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 62. See too Beurlier, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁷² Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. ccxiv; ccii; clxxxvi.

¹⁷³ Fink, Hoey, and Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Class. Stud.*, VII (1940).

that Livia was no longer on the list of the Arvales even in 183.¹⁷⁴ It would seem that sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus she was dropped from the cult.

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¹⁷⁴ The sixteen *divi* of 183 seem to have been: Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Nerva, Plotina, Sabina, the two Faustinas, Marciana, and Matidia. The twenty *divi* of 218 and 224 were the above with the addition of: Commodus, Pertinax, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla. See Fink, Hoey, Snyder, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 182 ff. The discovery that Matidia and Marciana are included in the Dura list makes unlikely the earlier supposition that Livia and Domitilla (or Poppaea) were included.

LYCIAN *HRPPI*.*

W. Arkwright once remarked of Lycian that "the bilingual inscriptions . . . are the beginning and end of our certain knowledge."¹ Even that was a slight overstatement, as bilinguals so frequently are not precise translations but loose paraphrases, often with some material in one not contained in the other. This is true of some, at least, of the very few and very short Lycian bilinguals which have been found.

This presents an apparently gloomy view of ever attaining an accurate knowledge of Lycian. Yet the mind of man refuses to accept defeat and some of the world's foremost linguists have tackled the problem. Most of these have been leaders in the field of Indo-European and they have naturally noted resemblances to the languages with which they are most familiar, with a consequent tendency to consider Lycian as Indo-European. No serious objection can be raised to a scholar's belief that Lycian is genetically related to any linguistic group, provided this does not influence his translation. But this, unfortunately, has not been the case. Etymological comparisons with Indo-European languages have formed the basis of much of the translation. And with these as a premise, much of the remainder of the translations depends on deductions as to what the meaning of the remaining words in a phrase "must" be, or mere statements that a Lycian word has a certain meaning without any reason being given except that the translation makes sense in the opinion of the author.

Even so brilliant a scholar as Piero Meriggi, the most recent scholar to deal extensively with Lycian, failed when he attempted to translate a part of the Xanthos stele inscription in order to prove the Indo-European relationship of Lycian.² Like most of his predecessors, Meriggi relied too largely on interpretations

* The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professors E. H. Sturtevant, W. F. Albright, and M. B. Emeneau for criticisms and suggestions. The author is alone responsible, of course, for any conclusions.

¹ "Some Lycian Suffixes," *B.O.R.*, V (1891), p. 187.

² "Der Indogermanismus des Lykischen," in *Germanen und Indogermanen, Festschrift f. Herman Hirt* (Heidelberg, 1936), pp. 257-82.

of individual words made by previous scholars, while the criterion as to the validity of his own work depended almost solely on whether his translation made sense. The longest Xanthos stele text he attempted to translate consisted of 79 words, of which he considered 17 as proper names, only one of which—the word for “Tlos”—is attested by the bilinguals. The translation of 12 other words Meriggi thought so doubtful that he placed question marks after his translation of them. The word *terñ* is translated “Heer” five times on the basis of Arm. *dzerñ* and “Hand” once, although Meriggi recognized *-ñ* as an accusative ending to a stem *ter-*, of which the dative was *ter-i*.³ He also translated *rerñ* once as “Heer.” The translation “Leuten” occurs thrice and “Truppen” twice. Lycian *se*, which is known from the bilinguals to mean “and,” is given by Meriggi as “und (=des)” twice, and *ese* as “und,” “mit,” and “mit (=des).” About all that we have here is a large number of proper names, several words expressing collectives of men, and a number of loose connectives.⁴

In a hundred years of interpretation of Lycian, a vast literature has grown up, and previous translations have generally been accepted without inquiry as to the supporting evidence, while the latest author proceeds to new grounds, basing his deductions on the assumed accuracy of his predecessors. The same unquestioning attitude was recently displayed by G. Bonfante in starting on the comparative grammar of Lycian.⁵ While such methods may occasionally prove suggestive, we cannot reach a sound basis for translation or comparative grammar without re-examining the foundations of the enormous superstructure which has been erected. The present paper examines just one brick of the foundation—the word *hrppi*. This is an instance of acceptance of a translation for nearly a century without reconsideration of its basis. G. F. Grottefend, one of the first scholars to attempt a translation of Lycian,

³ P. 263.

⁴ Meriggi's work was often better than that of many of his predecessors. His method has been selected for criticism as the most recent important work in the field.

⁵ G. Bonfante and I. J. Gelb, “The Position of ‘Hieroglyphic Hittite’ among the Indo-European Languages,” *J. A. O. S.*, LXIV (1944), pp. 169-90.

considered *hrppi* equivalent to "ἐαυτῷ, sibi, sich."⁶ But six years later, Daniel Sharpe began with the bilingual of Limyra, containing the phrase *hrppi etli ehbi*. Noting that *etli* was often written *atli*, Sharpe added that it "seems related to Sanscrit *ātman*, signifying *self*." Having already decided that *ehbi* signified "his," the meaning of *hrppi* was only "derived from the context, which admits of nothing but the preposition *for*, a sense which the word will bear in every sentence in which it occurs."⁷ Sharpe later translated it "for, ἐπί, pro" on the grounds that Grotefend's translation as "sibi" appeared forced, was contradicted by its use in several inscriptions (not cited), while his own translation as "for" was always consistent with the construction expected (also not illustrated). Moreover, if *hrppi* were a pronoun, we should find it declined, which Sharpe thought not to be the case.⁸ Ever since the time of Sharpe, "for" has been accepted as the meaning of *hrppi*.⁹ Christian Lassen, transliterating the word as *urppe*, thought to bolster this interpretation with the comparison of Umbrian *ar* (= Lat. *ad*) and Lat. *-pe* as in *nem-pe*.¹⁰ Later W. Deecke compared Skt. *prá*, Gr. *πρό*, Lat. *prō(d)*, with Lycian *hr-* < **fr-* < **pr-*.¹¹

In view of the limited material available to Sharpe, his conclusion was logical enough. But the ground for his belief that *hrppi* is not a pronoun is invalid. While Lycian was inflected, its nominal inflection seems to have been very limited and we know even less of its pronominal inflection, and consequently any inference as to what the inflection of a Lycian pronoun should be is even yet premature. And for those who

⁶ "Remarks on some Inscriptions Found in Lycia and Phrygia," *Trans. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, III (1835), pp. 321, 328. The transcription used here is that of Ernst Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, I (Vienna, 1901).

⁷ "An Essay on the Lycian Language," in *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, by Charles Fellows (London, 1841), p. 475.

⁸ "On Certain Lycian Inscriptions," App. I, vol. II, of T. A. B. Spratt and Edward Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis* (London, 1847), pp. 228, 236.

⁹ As Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, p. 276: *hrppi*, preposition with dative, "für; hinzu" < **hri-epi*, *hri* "über" (or "vor"?) and *epi* = ἐπί.

¹⁰ "Ueber die lykischen Inschriften und die alten Sprachen Kleinasiens," *Z. D. M. G.*, X (1856), p. 345.

¹¹ "Lykische Studien, III," *B. B.*, XIII (1888), p. 271.

accept Lycian as an Indo-European language, instances such as $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ can be cited where pronouns are restricted to one case, or others where the inflection is confined to few cases. Since Sharpe's time, *hrppi* appears to have limited inflection at least, as *hrppije*, and once *hrppēni*.

Sharpe was probably correct in stating that the translation of *hrppi* as "for" makes sense in every sentence where it occurs. It is found most frequently in the epitaphs, usually dedicated *hrppi ladi se tideime*, which has been translated "for wife and children," assuming *hrppi* to mean "for." Thus:

Telmessos 3.¹² *ebēñnē kupā mē ti prñawatē tewinezēi [s]-ppñtazah asawāzala[h] tideimi hrppi ladi se tide[ime]*. This tomb built Tewinezēi, of Sppñtaza Asawāzala the son, for wife and children.

Pinara 13. *ebēñnē [k]upā me ne prñna[w]etē pdd[ē]kñta kzzubezeh tideimi hrppi l[a]di eh[b]i se tideime<n> ehbiye*. This tomb built Pddēkñta, of Kzzubeze the son, for wife his and sons his.

Antiphellos 57. *ebēñne kupu me ti prñawatē ida makzza uher[i]jeh tideimi hrppi [l]adi ehbi se tideime.....* This tomb built Ida Makzza, of Uherije the son, for wife his and sons.....

Limyra 139. *eb[ñn]ē kupa mē [ti prñawatē tilume ziza-hā]mah tideimi hrppi ladi e[h]bi kukuneje [s]e tideime ehbi[e].....* This tomb built Tilume, of Zizahāma the son, for wife his, Kukuneje, and children his.

The translation of *hrppi* as "for" is, as Sharpe said, consistent with the structure expected. But so is

The Owl and the Pussy-Cat went to sea
In a beautiful pea-green boat,

and yet we say that the statement is untrue, for we know from experience that owls and pussy-cats do not go to sea of their own volition and we put it down at once as a pleasant bit of fantasy. It is just as fantastic to leave the economically most important member of the family out of the dedication formula. The recognition of this has not been so prompt, as grammar has banished reality for 100 years in this instance.

¹² The inscriptions are numbered as in Kalinka, *op. cit.*

Outside of *lad-* "wife" and *tideim-* "child," the meaning of few other Lycian relationship terms is definitely known. But regardless of their interpretation, all the others combined do not occur frequently enough for the wife or children to have erected a separate monument to the husband or father who had built the tomb for them, even assuming such an improbable social custom. Neither does *atli* "self" occur often enough for the heads of families to have erected monuments to themselves. It is found only 15 times out of 57 epitaphs.

Now the Lycians built some of the finest tombs of antiquity, house-like sepulchres hewn in the side of a rocky cliff or beautifully sculptured sarcophagi. After a man had spent a fortune on a final resting place for his wife and children, what then became of him? Did he climb a high cliff and throw himself into the sea, or did his ungrateful family throw the old man's bones on the ash heap?

No translator has suggested such a solution. In fact they either have failed to recognize the problem or have ignored it. Modesty and abnegation was not a common virtue of the male in Europe or the Near East and it is hard to believe that a man who inscribed his name at the very beginning of the epitaph as the erector of the tomb would often fail to assure himself a place in the tomb by specifically mentioning himself as one of those to be buried there.

We may note that during the time the Greeks and Romans dominated Lycia the erector of a tomb mentioned himself (*éavρός*) before any of the rest of the family for a place in the tomb. Thus,

Telmessos 50b. T]οῦτο τ[ὸ] μνη[μα] ἐ[ωνήσ]αντο [A]δλ[α]σις
Μανδα[λά]σιος καὶ Σιγαδρας Κενδόνιος ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις [κ]αὶ
Τελήτω Αδλάσιος καὶ Δημητρίω Σιγάδρον.

Telmessos 53. Ἀμμίας κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον
ἐαυτῷ [καὶ τῇ] γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐξήσει Ναννίδος καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις
[αὐτοῦ καὶ] τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἐσομένοις ἐγγόνοις μου καὶ [τῇ γυναικὶ]
τοῦ νιού μου Ἐπαγάθου χαρᾶ, . . .

See Kalinka, *op. cit.*, II, for many parallel examples.

In the same place in the epitaph formula of the Lycians that we find *éavρός* in the Greek formulas, *hrppi* alone occurs in 38 inscriptions, *hrppi* and *hrppēni ehbi* in one each; i. e., this

root alone occurs in 40 epitaphs. In nine others it occurs with *atli*, while *atli* alone occurs in only six.

If Lycian scholars are going to leave the bones of the heads of families in the tombs, where they were no doubt interred, instead of throwing them out to make the authors' translations correct, we must reinterpret *hrppi* as "self." We shall not need to modify seriously the view that *atli* means "self" as appears later.

The reason that the correct meaning of *hrppi* as "self" has not been recognized since the time of Sharpe has probably been the accidentally misleading evidence of the bilinguals. Corresponding to *ávτω*, *hrppi* alone is found only once, in Antiphellos 56. In Limyra 117, *[h]rppi etli ehbi* occurs where the corresponding Greek version has *έαντω*. In the Carmylessos bilingual, *hrppi* occurs once but without *έαντω*. Lycian *atru* corresponds to Gr. *έαντόν* in Tlos 25, and the *a* of what may have been *atli* is all that has not been obliterated of the Lycian word corresponding to Gr. *έ[α]ντω[ι]* in Tlos 23. Certainly the bilinguals do not at first glance offer impressive evidence in favor of translating *hrppi* as *έαντω*.

But when we examine the geographical distribution of *hrppi* and *atli*, we begin to perceive why the bilinguals helped mislead Lycian scholars. Burial formulas with *hrppi* alone are found at Cadyanda, Telmessos, Carmylessos, Pinara, Xanthos, Antiphellos, Isinda, Timiusa, Simena, Cyanae, Tschindam, Kasch, Candyba, Myra, and Limyra,¹³ i. e. all along the coast and for a considerable distance inland as at Cadyanda, Xanthos, and Candyba.

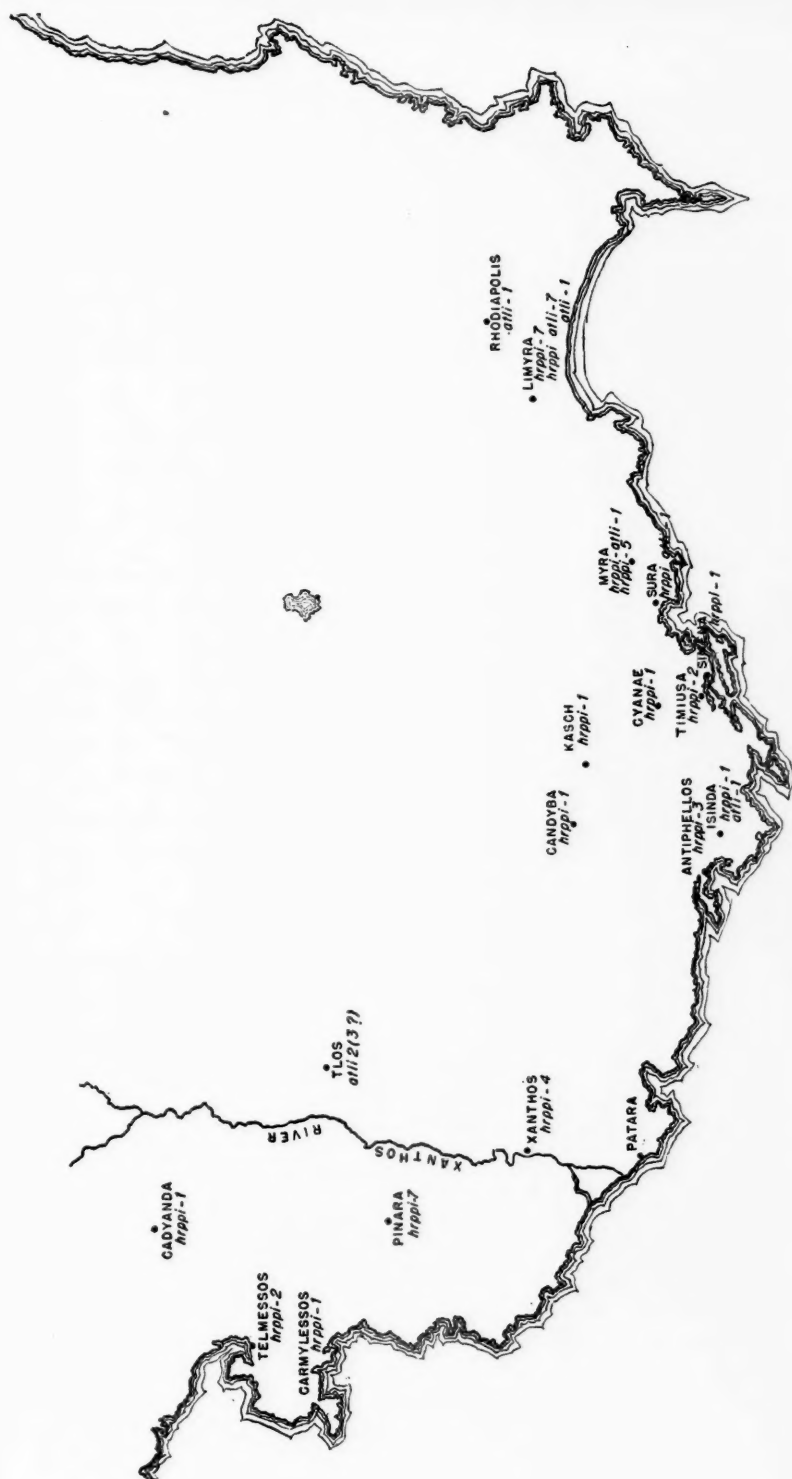
We find *atli* alone at Tlos (29, 27) and *atru* (25), which may be the same word although the *r* is difficult to account for as a stone cutter's error.¹⁴ We also find *atli* at Isinda (63), Limyra (105), and Rhodiapolis (150), all on the south coast.

We find *hrppi atli* combined at Sura (84) and Myra (86) and seven times at Limyra,¹⁵ all south coast cities.

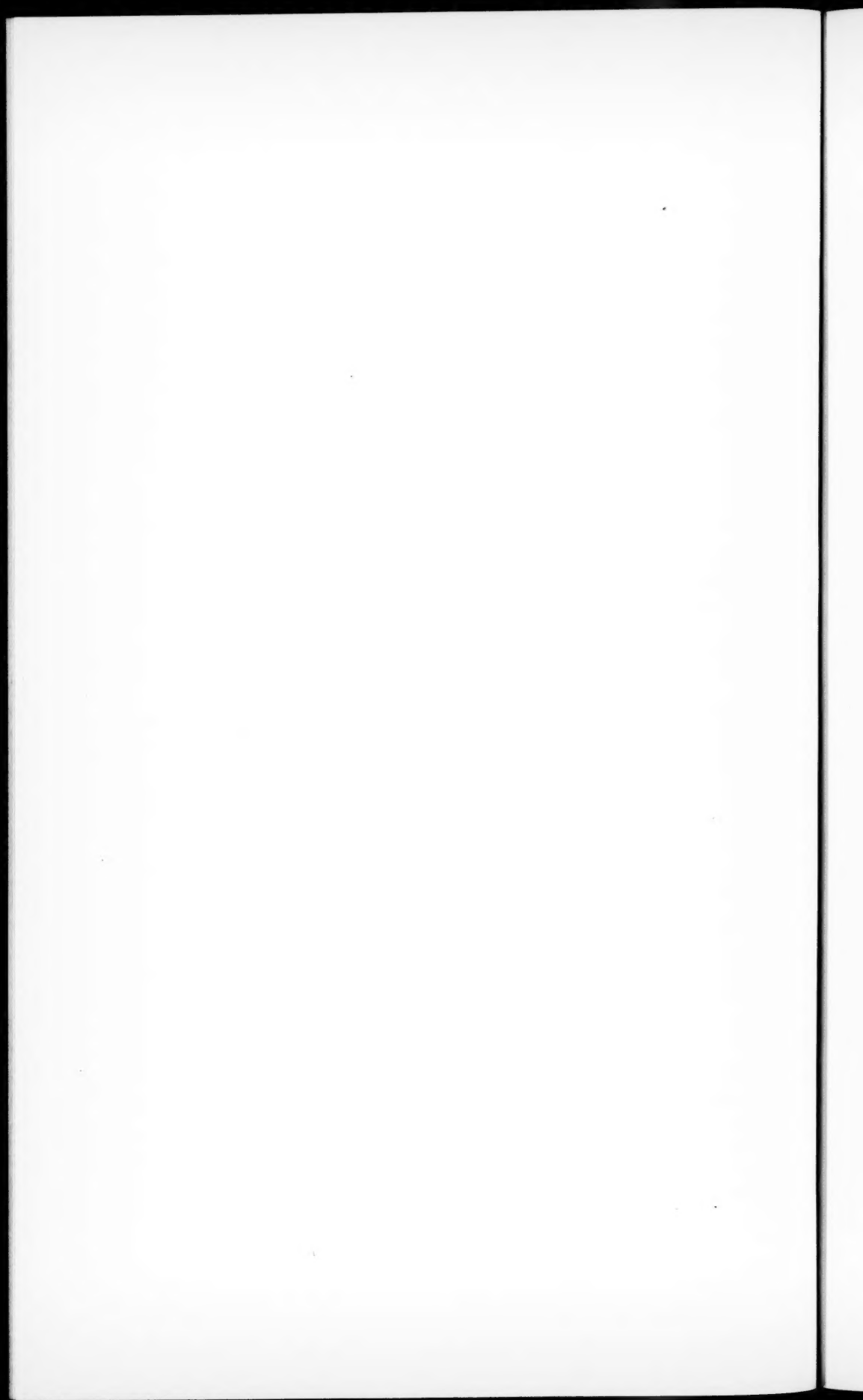
¹³ Nos. 3, 4, 6, 11, 13-17, 19, 31, 38, 39, 47, 48, 56, 57, 58, 62, 66, 67, 68, 73, 77, 80, 81, 85, 87, 88, 93, 94, 98, 113, 120, 134, 137, 139, 144.

¹⁴ From Gr. *Θρύσιος*, Lyc. *crup*? and from Gr. *Τισεντέμβραν*, Lyc. *ticeucēprē*, both transcriptions showing unusual features, one may question whether this inscription was not written in some local dialect.

¹⁵ Nos. 99, 108, 112, 117, 121, 123, 147.



Distribution of *hrppi* and *atti* in Lycian Epitaphs



From the distribution of *hrppi* over the whole Lycian area from which we have inscriptions except at Tlos, where *atli* is found to the exclusion of *hrppi*, one is justified in inferring that dialect is involved. On the south coast the greatest concentration of *atl-* is from Sura to Rhodiapolis, the most eastern Lycian territory of which we have inscriptions recorded. On the part of the southwest coast of Anatolia occupied by the Lycians, there is no record of *atl-*.

As not many inscriptions have been recorded from the southwest coast of Asia Minor, and few Tlos and Xanthos inscriptions following the usual formula for epitaphs, the evidence is not conclusive enough to state that *atl-* was a dialect word originating in Tlos or possibly the Xanthos River valley,¹⁶ and through colonization spreading eastwards along the south coast, although the evidence points to such a conclusion. The lone example of *atli* at Isinda in the midst of *hrppi* territory may be from the burial place of a stranger in the community.

Personal names suggest colonization: *hrik-ttbili mahanahi uwehi* (Tl. 22) compared with *.urttija mahanahi-di akā[ti] u[we]hi* (Myra 92) and *hrik-ñma* (Myra 89, 90); and with Myra 92 above, compare *akāti* (meaning unknown; Tl. 30:2), *akuti uwehi* (meaning unknown; Tl. 29:3). Cf. also the proper names *skku-lija-h* (G.; Tl. 27), and *skku-tra-zi* (Limyra 102).¹⁷

One may note that the occurrences of *atli* in the bilinguals are all within the territory where this term had its widest extension in the epitaphs. Consequently it was purely accidental that this seldom used word for "self" came to be accepted by Lycian scholars as the only word for "self," and that *hrppi* was taken to mean "for."

hrppi and *atli* were probably practically synonymous, meaning "self" or "own." One may infer that *atli* did not alone mean "himself"—except as this might be inferred from the

¹⁶ *atl-* does not occur in any of the burial formulas at Xanthos, although *atli* is found once and *atla-*, particularly *atlahi*, several times on the great stele at Xanthos; see Kalinka, *op. cit.*, Index. But the interpretation of the Lycian inscription on the stele is, I believe, too uncertain to be sure that *atl-* there is the same root, although it very probably is.

¹⁷ The names Myra and Li-myra suggest that the latter may be a colony of the former, "New Myra"?

context—from the frequent addition of *ehbi* to give the whole the sense of the third person. The phrase *hrppi atli ehbi* may be tentatively translated “self own his,” “his own self,” as American children sometimes say.

If we accept the present interpretation of *atli* as “self” then the erectors of tombs assured themselves a respectable burial only 15 times out of 59, or about 25 per cent. If *hrppi*, however, means “self,” then 40 assured themselves a place in the tomb, or about 66 per cent. But if *hrppi* and *atli* were nearly synonymous, then 55 out of 59 specifically mentioned themselves for burial, and only 4 omitted themselves or were dedicating a tomb to a certain member or members of their families. I have an impression that the disintegration of the family and the family burials became greater during Greek and Roman times, but until further archeological work permits at least approximate dating of Lycian, Greek, and Roman epitaphs we can have no solid ground for a statistical comparison.

Additional evidence that *hrppi* was not a preposition is afforded by formulas where it does not occur. Instances cited above of *atli* without *hrppi*, show that “for” was expressed not by *hrppi* but by the ending *-i* in the singular. In expressing “(to build) for (someone)” with final *-i*, *hrppi* and *atli* agree with *ladi*, *tideimi* (117), *pr̥nezi* (11, 31), *cbalri* (138) and *ehbi*. This may be the most important result of this inquiry—that, for one of the best attested “cases” of the language and for some of the best attested words we know, the singular ending is *-i*. This is quite different from the varied dative singulars found in such Indo-European languages as Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit; on the other hand, Professor E. H. Sturtevant has pointed out to the writer that the case ending *-i* accords with the Hittite dative singular, *-i*, in probably more than 95 per cent of the occurrences in documents while the *-e* of a good proportion of the others was only a graphic variant for *-i* at the time when the documents were written. If our certain knowledge of Lycian forms too insecure a base to draw an inference from this, it should at least urge caution in setting up a complex inflectional system patterned after Indo-European.

Another instance of “for” being expressed by *-i* is at Phellos, where on a “grosses lykisches Felsgrab” we find *ebē pr̥nawā*

me ti prñawatē sbicezijēi mrekiśa(h) tideimi ladi ehbi se tideime ēnē kñtawata wata-prddatehe. Where a man was rich and powerful enough, he no doubt sometimes erected separate tombs for members of his family, and here, where apparently only his wife and children were buried, "for his wife" is expressed simply by "*ladi ehbi*" without *hrppi*. For social reasons, perhaps, a "zweitheiliges Felsgrab" was erected at Limyra simply to *cbatri ehbi*.

Archeological evidence as to just who was buried in graves dedicated *hrppi ladi se tideime* is unfortunately not available. Vandals have rifled the graves, and while a thorough search by archeologists would probably reveal much valuable data, at present I have found only one description of the remains. Heberdey found at Limyra 98, where the inscription reads in part *hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime*, at least four bodies in the grave, those of a man, a woman and two children, one under ten years of age, the other somewhat over. Since the age of the man is not given, we cannot be sure he was not one of the sons. But considering the age of the two children, this is improbable.

As was pointed out previously,¹⁸ the singular verb *prñawatē* instead of the plural verb *prñawātē* is used when the subject is a man and his wife, as in Limyra 121: *prñawatē erñmenēni se lada ehbi*. One may consequently consider that the following two words, which Kalinka wrote [*h*]rppi atl[*a*], would be better read [*h*]rppi atl[*i*]. The final Lycian letter looked to me more like *E* than *Ϸ* because of the lower bar, and I had transcribed it [*i*] before I had given consideration to the singular verb.

The translation of *hrppi* as "self" will necessitate a good deal of revision of previous interpretations, not only of translations of the texts, but also derivations, such as Holger Pedersen's *hrppi* < hri + pi.¹⁹

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¹⁸ Deecke, *B. B.*, XIII (1888), p. 262; Torp I 14.

¹⁹ "Lykisk," *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, tredie Raekke, VII (1898-9), pp. 94, 98. See also n. 9 above, and Deecke, *loc. cit.*, p. 268.

ARISTOPHANEA.

I: *Equites*, 1061-2.

Δη. ἐγὼ δ' ἄλουτος τήμερον γενήσομαι;
 Αλ. οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τὰς πνέλους ἀφήρπασεν.

In place of the aorist ἀφήρπασεν one would expect either a future or a perfect. Zacher and others quite arbitrarily excised the line. Bothe suggested ἀφαρπάσει—unfortunately, as the future active is not found in Attic, the middle being used in its stead. I am aware (1) that the Greeks often used an aorist where in English we should use a perfect; (2) that (it is saying the same thing in other words) the perfect is a rare tense in Attic. Aristophanes, however, does use the perfect of the simple verb at *Ec.* 428 (ἡρπακώς) and *Pl.* 372 (ἡρπακας); and for perfects in -κα in the earlier plays cf. μεμάθηκε (*Nu.* 1143, 1148, 1150), ἐμπέπτωκε (*V.* 203). The vertical stroke of the κ may have become disjoined from the rest of the letter, the result been read as IC, and the iota subsequently erased, leaving the sigma. It seems to me that the same thing may have happened at line 1200 (οἷμοι τάλας ἀδίκως γε τᾶμ' ἀφήρπασας), where again ἀφήρπακας is what we should expect.

II: *Aves*, 265-6.

ἄλλως ἄρ' οὐποψ, ὡς ἔοικ', ἐς τὴν λόχμην
 ἐσβὰς ἐπῶξε χαραδριὸν μιμούμενος.

ἐπῶξε is read by R, U and Γ; ἐπῶξε by V, A and M. Those who would regard this word as the imperfect of ἐπῳάζειν are up against two difficulties: (1) the difficulty of form; (2) the difficulty of meaning.

(1) No contracted form occurs in prose. The verb is possibly found twice in poetry: (i) Epicharmus, frag. 172, τὸ θῆλυ τῶν ἀλεκτορίδων γένος | . . . ἀτενὲς οὐ τίκτει τέκνα | ζῶντ', ἀλλ' ἐπῳίζει καὶ ποιῇ ψυχὰν ἔχειν, and (ii) Cratinus, frag. 108, ἐπὶ τῷδ' ἐπῳζουσ', ὡς ἂν ἐκλέψῃς καλὸν | . . . ὄρνεον. In the Epicharmus instance a second hand in the MS (Diogenes Laertius, III, 16) has corrected ἐπῳίζει to ἐπῳάζει and Van Leeuwen (on Aristophanes, *Av.* 266) conjectures ἐπῳάζον [καὶ]; in the Cratinus, ἐπῳζουσ'

is an "emendation" of Valckenaer's for the MS (Athenaeus, IX, 373 e) ἐπωάζουσ', whence Van Leeuwen (on Aristophanes, Av. 1108) conjectures ἐπωάζουσ', [ὡς ἀν] ἴν' ἐκλέψῃς.

(2) Despite the scholiast's note τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ᾠοῖς καθεζόμενα τὰ ὄρνεα κράζειν, and Liddell and Scott⁹ "*cluck*; like a laying hen," it is clear that ἐπωάζειν means to sit on eggs, not to cluck over them. A broody hen does not cluck.

In this passage, then, the form is dubious, the meaning disastrous. To regard the word, again, as the imperfect of ἐποίζειν = "lament over" once more gives an impossible sense here.

Rogers calls attention to the similarity of ἔποψ and ἐπώζειν (cf. κόκκυξ κοκκύζει, Hesiod, *Op.* 486) and translates "the Hoopoe . . . whooped." But in this case the syllable ἐπ- is an integral part of the word, not a compounding preposition, and presumably its imperfect would be ἤπωλε. Similarly Kock's tentatively suggested *ἐποπώζειν should make ἡπόπωλε in the imperfect—for surely his second suggestion of a composite ἐποπ-ῶζε as imperfect of ἐποπ-ῶζειν (he actually has ἐποπ-ῶζε as from ἐποπ-οίζειν, though ῶζειν does exist and οἴζειν does not) is simply impossible.

Now in line 227 the Hoopoe starts his song with Ἐποποποῖ ποποῖ ποποποποῖ ποποῖ (I quote the form given by Coulon; the MSS show considerable variation). Of this the significant syllable seems to be ποῖ. Might we not therefore read ἔποιζε, i. e. the imperfect of a verb ποίζειν = "to cry ποῖ," just as τιτίζειν = "to cry τιτι," πιπιίζειν = "to cry πιπι" and τίζειν = "to be constantly asking 'τί' "? A scribe copying a 5th cent. archetype would find before him ΕΠΟΙΖΕ which he might easily take as ΕΠΙΟΙΖΕ, a word which the Alexandrians would naturally accent as properispomenon, regarding it as from ἐπ-οίζειν, ἐπ-ώζειν or, maybe, ἐπ-φάζειν.

III: *Aves*, 492.

οἱ δὲ βαδίζουσ' ὑποδησάμενοι νύκτωρ.

Peithetaerus, to illustrate his theory of the early sovereignty of the birds, takes the case of the cock. "So powerful was he that even now at the summons of his matin song all manner of working men spring up from bed and hasten to their various

jobs." He continues—οἱ δὲ βαδίζουσ' ὑποδησάμενοι νύκτωρ; where-upon Euelpides interrupting him (on any showing νύκτωρ—, not νύκτωρ. should be printed. Peithetaerus has clearly not finished his remark) says, "I can tell you all about that" (ἐμὲ τοῦτό γ' ἐρώτα), and proceeds to tell the story of how, coming in one day from Halimus to Athens to attend a party, he got drunk, missed the party, was awakened by the cock crowing at dusk, thought it was next morning (νομίσας ὄρθρον), started off for home, and was robbed by a λωποδύτης.

Most scholars translate the half line I have quoted, "and others put their shoes on and go out at night." I can see no objection to this rendering so far as the words themselves go. True, Van Leeuwen remarks, "ferri nequit οἱ δὲ quasi aliud iam indicetur genus hominum," but, if it was the construction and not the sense to which he took exception, he need have looked no further than lines 529-30 of this same play to find a convincing instance of the same idiom: εἴτα λαβόντες πολλοῦς ἀθρόους, οἱ δ' ὠνοῦνται = "and others buy them." (Other instances may be seen at *Nu.* 396 and *Eq.* 600.) The real trouble is, why should Peithetaerus have mentioned people going out *at night*? No doubt λωποδύται and the like did, but they needed no cock-crow to rouse them. It is this consideration that has led some editors to "emend" the line and read, e. g., Van Leeuwen's ὑποδησάμενοι δὲ βαδίζουσιν νύκτωρ, putting a comma instead of a colon at the end of the preceding line, and translating "and (or "for") they (the aforementioned working men) put on their shoes and go out while it is still dark." To this use of νύκτωρ = *de nocte*, in the *morning* dark, Van Leeuwen cites no parallel, though there is a very good one at *Ec.* 528, where, Blepyrus having asked his wife why she went out ὄρθριον, Praxagora answers γυνή μέ τις νύκτωρ . . . μετεπέμψατο. It seems to me that this meaning ("and [for] they go to their work before dawn") can quite easily be derived from the text as it stands. The real ground of objection, it seems to me, is this: if νύκτωρ means "before dawn," why should Euelpides tell a (in that case pointless) story of having been robbed of his cloak *at dusk*? May not the answer be that in the mouth of Peithetaerus these four words mean "these people go to their work before dawn," but to the ears of Euelpides they imply "and others go out at night"? If I am right in supposing this ambiguity, any emendation is not so much unnecessary as fatal.

IV: *Ranae*, 1106-7.

λέγετον ἔπιτον ἀναδέρετον
τά τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ καινά.

So the MSS, leaving 1106 a syllable short for the trochaic dimeter. Brunck's ἀναδέρεσθον is all right metrically, but it introduces a middle form not found elsewhere in classical Greek. To Bergk's ἀνὰ δ' ἔρεσθον (accepted by Van Leeuwen) may be raised the objection that after ἔπιτον "attack" (cf. ἔπιτε of line 893) we expect another imperative denoting physical action. Dobree's ἀνά τε δέρετον likewise completes the metre, but the scheme A, B, C τε is (?) impossible. Denniston (*Greek Particles*) cites no instance. Fritzsche's κἀναδέρετον and Thiersch's ἀνὰ δὲ δέρετον violate neither metre nor grammar. But no possible meaning of ἀναδέρειν seems suitable here. Radermacher's view that it equals *réchauffer* would fit τὰ παλαιὰ but not τὰ καινά. It seems not unlikely that τὰ τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ καινά are, as it were, weapons to be brought up by the two prospective combatants from their respective armouries. We might, then, read ἀνὰ δὲ φέρετον; cf. Peithetaerus' command to Euelpides (Av. 840) λεκάνην ἀνένεγκε. ΑΝΑΔΕΦΕΡΕΤΟΝ might easily become ΑΝΑΔΕΡΕΤΟΝ by a kind of haplography.

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THE DATE OF THEMISTOCLES' OSTRACISM.

Professor Donald G. Baker of Ursinus College has kindly called my attention to Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., 25, 2: "Then, in the archonship of Conon, Ephialtes stripped the Council of the Areopagus of all the acquired prerogatives from which it derived its guardianship of the constitution and assigned some of them to the Council of Five Hundred, and others to the Assembly and the law courts. In this revolution he was assisted by Themistocles, who was himself a member of the Areopagus, but was expecting to be tried before it on a charge of treasonable dealings with Persia."

It is well known that Aristotle's statement is irreconcilable with that of Thucydides, I, 137, who places Themistocles' ostracism

cism some ten years earlier, about 471 B. C., after which he withdrew to Argos (if he had not already done so), became involved with Pausanias in intrigues with Persia, and subsequently fled to Asia, being almost captured by the Athenian fleet at Naxos in 466 B. C. It is also well known that modern scholarship has decided in favor of Thucydides; for example, Walker (*C. A. H.*, V, p. 64) says: "There can hardly be a doubt that on all these points the verdict must be in favour of Thucydides." Since, however, Aristotle cannot be explained away satisfactorily, every careful student hedges his verdict; Walker's comment (p. 65) is: "Thucydides' own version, however, is not altogether free from difficulty." Was Themistocles in Athens in 462 B. C. or is it possible to set aside Aristotle's statement in reasonable fashion and as a consequence to allow Thucydides' version to stand beyond any doubt? It is also important to be rid of the notion that "Thucydides' system of chronology for this period was not the only one current in antiquity" (Godolphin, *The Greek Historians*, II, p. 697, n. 41), for this sounds as if there were a rival fifth-century system which Aristotle was following, and in any case the only point at issue is a single date in Aristotle.

I have recently argued ("Athenian Politics, 510-486 B. C.," *A. J. P.*, LXVI [1945], pp. 243 f.) that the attack on the archonship in 487/6 B. C. (which indirectly changed the character of the Areopagus as well) must have been carried through by a great radical, such as Themistocles. It is hardly credible that the reformer's name should not be known to us, but that is the fact. Is it not probable, however, that Themistocles' name, being associated in antiquity with the reform, was transferred in some curious manner by Aristotle to Ephialtes' later Reform? Here, of course, it does not make sense, in the light of Thucydides; we therefore place Themistocles' ostracism in 471 B. C. or thereabouts, but without any hedging, for Aristotle's precise connection of Themistocles with a reform of the Areopagus is then attributed to 487/6 B. C., where one line of reasoning places it anyway.

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ADDITIONAL REMARK TO PROFESSOR NITZE'S
ARTICLE, *A. J. P.*, LXVI (1945), p. 281.

While admitting my error in calling *gradales* an "invention" of a twelfth-century etymologist, since this is attested in 1010 (this attestation, however, has no bearing on the etymology of the word, which is the point in question), I must state that Professor Nitze treats in a rather cavalier fashion my objections to the traditional reading of the line of the *Ecbasis*: *nec biberam cratum . . .*, and my emendation *nec biberam acratum*: he does not answer my objection that such an evolution as *kratēr* > Vulg. Lat. **cratus* (which last, he, by a slip of the pen, writes *gradus*) is unparalleled (cf. the different developments of *charakter* in Romance); he presents the elementary metrical law of vowel + *-m* dropped before vowels as a sort of wishful thinking on my part, worthy of Olympic irony: "obviously, Spitzer *hopes* it [the *-a* of *biberam* before mute *-m*] was dropped. But was it?" Obviously, Spitzer says what any high-school student knows who has read some lines of Book I of the *Aeneid* (*terr[am] inter fluctus aperit . . .*): that *nec biberam acratum* can be read in verse only as *nec biber[am] acratum*. Since the hapax *cratus* in the *Ecbasis* is one of the main props of the *kratēr* > **cratalis* "Grail" etymology, I shall continue to believe that by showing the doubtful character of the reading *cratus*, I have, in this case, somewhat diminished that appeal of inner evidence which, in the opinion of Pietsch, Nitze, and myself, is the ultimate criterion in etymological matters.

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REVIEWS.

A. W. GOMME. A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, Volume I. Introduction and Commentary on Book I. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945. Pp. xii + 480; 4 maps. £1.0.0.

It is not often that an ancient author is the subject of two major studies of surpassing quality within five years; yet this has been the happy fate of the historian Thucydides. Finley's recent volume¹ is now followed by the first part of Gomme's *Historical Commentary* and it may be stated categorically that Gomme has produced a work of extraordinary merit, extraordinary good sense, and extraordinary fascination.²

The author has planned his publication in three volumes and a glance at the table of contents of the first will reveal that he has achieved more than a commentary. The Introduction alone (pp. 1-87) is of major importance in Thucydidean scholarship. It is divided under the following main headings: What Thucydides Takes for Granted, Thucydides' Self-imposed Limitations, Sources other than Thucydides, and Principles of Historical Criticism. These sections are subdivided so as to allow Gomme to treat in critical fashion such vital topics as the economic, political, and constitutional conditions of the fifth century, chronological method, source materials available to Thucydides, and supplementary evidence available to us.

The Commentary proper is itself sectioned; each episode or subject in the text of Thucydides is given its heading and the commentary is followed by an analysis. So, for example, the *Archaeology* receives its running commentary and is then discussed as a whole and related to the rest of Thucydides' *History*; the incidents concerning Kerkyra and Poteidaia are each subjected to a closely reasoned chronological and historical examination. Outstanding, and perhaps the kernel of this volume, is the treatment of the *Pentekontaëtia* (pp. 256-413). Here, after the commentary on the text (I, 89-118, 2), Gomme discusses the excursus as a whole, dignifying these Notes on the *Pentekontaëtia* with their own table of contents (p. 361). The essay considers the *Pentekontaëtia* under these heads: Nature of the Excursus, Omissions in the Excursus, and Chronology of the Period 477-432 B. C. It is an important study, for in addition to a careful discussion of the troublesome chronology, Gomme considers critically Athenian foreign policy and the many problems connected with the organization of the Delian League and the development into Empire.

The book includes a Bibliography of Short Titles (pp. ix-xi) and three Indexes: General; Authors, and Passages Discussed (a most

¹ John H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Harvard University Press, 1942); reviewed in *A. J. P.*, LXV (1944), pp. 181-5.

² I shall avoid repetition of comments made in the two reviews I have already seen: Gilbert Murray, in *The Sunday Observer* (London, April 15, 1945), p. 3; Anonymous, in *The London Times Literary Supplement* (June 9, 1945), p. 270.

useful addition); and Greek (which seems to me rather slim; I do not understand the principles of selection). Four maps supplement the exposition (To Illustrate the Kerkyra Campaigns, Olynthos and Poteidaia, To Illustrate the Poteidaia Campaign, and Greece, on the last of which sea-depths are marked). A list of the editions used by Gomme would have been a convenience to the reader.

The Commentary is more than historical; in fact there are few aspects of classical scholarship which Gomme fails to touch. He treats textual and geographical problems with equal acumen, and everywhere he shows his admirable command of the literature, ancient and modern, which pertains to his subject. Random examples of his broad range are his note on iotacism and changes in pronunciation (p. 296), his interpretation of *αἰσχύνῃ* (p. 249), of *ἔφεσις* and *εὐθυναί* (pp. 342-3), his suggestion about a comic fragment (p. 105), his observations on early Sparta (pp. 128-31), his sensible correction of Beloch on the number of ships involved at Sybota (pp. 190-5), and his many excellent topographical notes (e.g., pp. 180-1 on Cheimerion, pp. 203-8 on the *Χαλκιδεῖς*).

It is impossible to cite all the passages which are especially enlightening; my own list, gathered as I read the book, is far too long for reproduction. I must content myself with a selection and with the simple statement that Gomme approaches Thucydides conservatively and without prejudice, with the intention of understanding him and the task he set himself, not with the aim of making Thucydides agree with Gomme's own conjectures; and here and there less thoughtful and less impartial critics are chastised.

Noteworthy in a splendid Introduction is the handling of the sources other than Thucydides; and in this well-reasoned account the treatment of Plutarch is of special worth. This should be read by all historians of Greece (and of Rome too, for that matter), for Gomme's critical and clear perception is at its best as he rescues Plutarch from the disrepute in which he is sometimes unjustly held. This is accomplished by a demonstration of what Plutarch aimed to do, an aim which we, in our zeal as historians, are apt to forget, and of his genuine shortcomings within this chosen field. "He was not a historian but a biographer . . ." (p. 54). "He was not a specialist either, and did not think of his readers as such. We should remember, in fact, that Plutarch thought that his readers would all be equally at home with his Greek and his Roman *Lives* and would never separate them; his readers of the 17th and 18th centuries were thus at home: we, the unhappy historical experts, can only hope to criticize and value the Greek or the Roman, so different are our standards" (p. 74). Plutarch "had two serious weaknesses: inability to value his authorities, and no insight into the political conditions of the classical age . . . 'he had the political temper of the age of Trajan'" (pp. 58-9). There is much more that would bear quotation, some of which may seem quite obvious; but I have not elsewhere seen it written so well, and, regrettably, it still needs reiteration.

The reader must not forget that the book, as Gomme says, is in many ways a production of 1939; the author has seen no continental publications since 1939 and not all American. Inevitably, then,

some problems have been illuminated by new light, of which Gomme has not been able to take full advantage; bibliographic additions (published since 1939) suggested in this review, therefore, bring no criticisms upon Gomme but are supplements for him and for the reader.

On p. 9 Smith's article on economics comes to mind. Meritt's classic study of epigraphic method is pertinent on p. 32, and the distribution of the generals in the 430's and the nature of Perikles' sole control (pp. 68, 178-9, 209-10, 354) must be reconsidered in the light of important articles by Lenz and Ehrenberg. Gomme's opinions on the origin of the Greeks (pp. 97-8, 119) have apparently not been influenced by Blegen's recent work, nor has he seen Prakken's study of genealogical reckoning (p. 117). Similarly, I suspect that Gomme has had no opportunity to study Larsen's significant paper on the Delian League (see especially pp. 372-3).³

Enough has been said to indicate that I consider this a first-class book, a milestone in the study of Thucydides and the history of his time. But in a volume of such detail and scope it would indeed be strange if the reader did not question some of Gomme's judgments; here again I am compelled to make a selection.

Gomme is firm in his belief (pp. 86, 272-3, 279, 372) that the Hellenotamiai formed an Athenian magistracy from 478/7 B. C. This may be true; but it is not certain, neither is it accurate to write that "Thucydides expressly states that it was instituted, as an Athenian office, at the beginning of the League" (καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή). It was instituted by the Athenians, I venture to say, but it *may* have been an allied board of some sort, despite Gomme's rather casual dismissal of Walker's proposal. Furthermore, Gomme overlooks (p. 279, n. 2) the fact that in 478/7 the fleet was a genuinely allied effort (see Thucydides, I, 99); it is anachronistic to write that it was "built at Athens and trained and commanded, and largely manned, by Athenians." Gomme, of course, translates (p. 283) χρήματα ἐτάξαντο (I, 99, 3) as "had assessed themselves to contribute money rather than ships" (thus rendering meaningless the gradual change from ships to money expressly described by Thucydides) and is inclined to hold to a minimum the original contributors of ships. Yet Thucydides' narrative implies the opposite, as does the epigraphical evidence, and Gomme's refutation of West's thesis ("that the loyal islands which

³ S. B. Smith, "The Economic Motive in Thucydides," *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.*, LI (1940), pp. 267-301; B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica* (*Martin Classical Lectures*, IX [Harvard University Press, 1940]); F. W. Lenz, "The Athenian Strategoi of the Years 441/40 and 433/32," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXII (1941), pp. 226-32; V. Ehrenberg, "Pericles and his Colleagues between 441 and 429 B. C.," *A. J. P.*, LXVI (1945), pp. 113-34; C. W. Blegen, "Athens and the Early Age of Greece," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (1940), pp. 1-9; "Preclassical Greece," *Studies in the Arts and Architecture* (University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941]), pp. 1-14; D. W. Prakken, *Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology* (Diss., Lancaster Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1943); J. A. O. Larsen, "The Constitution and Original Purpose of the Delian League," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, LI (1940), pp. 175-213.

possessed ships at the time of Salamis entered the league on a non-tributary basis and did not commute their obligations until after the treasury had been moved to Athens") is unconvincing. It is surely not coincidental that not a single one of the particular group (twelve in all, including Hestiaia, Andros, and Seriphos) is recorded as paying tribute until 450 B.C.⁴ It is most unlikely that payments made to Athenian strategoi in the field account for the absence of certain of these names from the quota records, for the evidence (epigraphic again) is that such payments were reported to Athens and the quotas duly recorded, perhaps as many as three from these early years under discussion (pp. 277-8); cf. *A. T. L.*, I, pp. 453-4.⁵

Gomme is willing to accept 460 talents as the actual cash anticipated from the assessment of Aristides and he analyzes the payments in the early quota lists to confirm his belief (his totals seem to me a little high). But his argument becomes confusing, especially when we read in a single note (p. 284 on I, 99, 3, τὸ ἰκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν) the following comments: "I believe that this phrase makes it possible to interpret the 460 talents of the first φόρος, 96.2, to include both the tribute paid in money by the great majority of the member-states and the money equivalent of the ships contributed by the rest. . . . For my part, however, I believe the figure 460 tal. for the first assessment to be in any case reconcilable with the later figures obtainable from the quota lists." The issue revolves about the number of contributions in ships included within the 460 talents of the first assessment. Gomme may argue that nearly all was in cash and very little in ships, or for a larger proportion of ships. But he should make up his mind (his juggling of the ship contributors is thoroughly confusing); he can scarcely have it both ways. Finally, I think that not enough attention has been paid to Thucydides' own statement (I, 96, 1), which is really quite specific concerning money and ships: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἔταξαν ὥς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα . . . καὶ ὥς ναῦς.⁶

Gomme (pp. 326-7) accepts Theopompos' report ("He was a learned man. . .") that Kimon returned to Athens at the time of Tanagra (457 B.C.), curtly brushing aside the argument that "we should have heard of Kimon's activities in Athens in the next four years." I remain dubious, however. We do hear of Kimon's activities during the years we know him to have been powerful at Athens (before 461 B.C.); a complete blank is our yield for the decade 461-

⁴ A. B. West, *A. H. R.*, XXXV (1930), pp. 267-75; see especially pp. 273-5. I do not know the evidence which allows Gomme to call Naxos "tributary since c. 468"; its first appearance in the quota lists is in 450/49. On p. 315, discussing the campaigns against Aigina shortly before 454/3, he mentions "the three members who still had fleets"; but once again this is to reject the evidence.

⁵ B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (Harvard University Press, 1939).

⁶ Kathleen M. T. Atkinson writes an interesting letter to *The London Times Literary Supplement* (June 30, 1945), p. 307, in which she proposes that Thucydides' figure of 460 talents for the first assessment is based on the amount formerly paid by the Ionians and others to Persia. This is adequately considered and rightly (I believe) denied by Gomme in the issue of July 28, p. 355.

451, precisely the interval prescribed by ostracism, after which we can immediately trace the resumption of his naval operations. That is, what we know agrees chronologically with the known dates of his ostracism. Is this merely another coincidence? The argument cited above and dismissed by Gomme might with more effect read, "We should have heard of Kimon's activities *at sea*, especially when we recall the many Athenian naval adventures of these years."⁷

The treatment of the Peace of Kallias (pp. 331-5) is sound, and I sympathize with the refutation of Wade-Gery's belief that the cities of Asia Minor belonging to the Delian League continued to pay tribute to Persia. As to the date of the treaty, I believe Wade-Gery (450/49) is to be preferred to Gomme (p. 410, 449/8 B. C.). This problem, however, is part of the larger issue, the change from League to Empire and the significance of the vital document numbered D7 in *A. T. L.*, I.⁸ It is too complicated to take up here and I hope to deal with it elsewhere.⁹

Gomme (pp. 261-2) is not happy about Themistokles' archonship in 493/2 B. C., followed by a decade of obscurity; he does reject Krüger's theory of an archonship in 482/1 but he then favours interpreting Thucydides' ἀρχὴ ἣν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξε not as the eponymous archonship but as an office held year by year, e. g., ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν νεωρίων. This is to my mind a weak solution of a questionable difficulty. The decade of obscurity is not so dark as Gomme states, as I have implied in another connection.¹⁰ As for the long interruption in a naval policy (including fortification of harbours) begun in 493/2, this could have been caused by the Persian invasion and the consequent political turmoil and reorganization in Athens.

In his Preface and in the body of the book Gomme writes in complimentary terms of the advances achieved by the epigraphists: "it is difficult to imagine what the historian's task would be like without their help, particularly for one who has not himself had much opportunity for studying inscriptions directly." Despite his disclaimer, Gomme makes prolific use of epigraphical documents and does not hesitate to discuss them, often putting forward valuable suggestions and stimulating interpretations. Yet he approaches epigraphical evidence with considerable caution. "I sometimes differ

⁷ Gomme himself employs the same type of argument on p. 211, n. 5, in supporting an increase of tribute for Poteidaia beginning in 434/3 rather than in 433/2: "It is also more likely that Thucydides would have mentioned so big an increase if it had immediately preceded the revolt." There are, however, some remarkable omissions in Thucydides.

⁸ The new fragment has been published and the whole reëdited by B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), pp. 1-15.

⁹ Gomme (pp. 336-7) is right, I think, in emphasizing Thucydides' description of a slow and gradual change (even though he apparently refuses to accept the latter's testimony in the matter of the ships); but at the same time the Peace of Kallias did cause a rapid transition from *symmachia* to *arche* in that it brought matters to a head and compelled Athens to make a decision. That decision is embodied very largely in D7.

¹⁰ "The Pro-Persian Party at Athens from 510 to 480 B. C.," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (1940), pp. 71-95.

from their [the epigraphists'] historical conclusions, for it is the business of the historian to use his judgement on the evidence." The doctrine is sound in each of its clauses, but the sentence is unfortunate. It is a mistake to distinguish between historian and epigraphist. Epigraphy is not an end in itself; it is the ally and the servant of history. Almost all the epigraphists cited by Gomme are primarily historians and hold their university positions as historians. The late Allen West once remarked, "I became epigraphist in order to be historian," and this is the way in which most epigraphists began their study of inscriptions.

It is true that the constant influx of new evidence (a good deal of it epigraphic) and the steady application of fresh minds have led to changes in interpretation; this is how progress is made, this is how the truth is reached.¹¹ But there exist certain physical characteristics in epigraphical evidence which cannot be contradicted, despite Gomme's occasional scepticism. For example, he corrects (p. 202, n. 1) Schweigert's text of *I. G.*, I², 53: "But μηδ' ἐπὶ Φιλίππου . . . μηδέ should be μήτ' . . . μήτε." The error is a double one; not only is this a misquotation of Schweigert, but the letters ΜΕΔ are clearly inscribed on the stone.¹² Again, from the note on p. 300 the reader would never know that the Thracian Γαλήψιοι unquestionably paid tribute before 425 B. C. (appearing in Lists 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 22, 23, 26). Similarly, on p. 214 the reader should be told that the Ὀθόριοι appear in the quota lists for the first time in 446/5 B. C.¹³

Gomme's criticism (pp. 276-7, n. 3) of the method employed in the Register of *A. T. L.*, I, where the authors, *s. v.* Θάσιοι in List 12, write "Absent from full panel," may be cogent in principle; but I cannot help feeling that he has ignored the powerful geographical argument which makes [Σερμαῖες] so preferable as a restoration in List 12, III, 33 (i. e., we do not have an even choice between [Σερμαῖες] and [Θάσιοι]; cf. the order of names in List 12, III, 2-33 and List 13, III, 3-32).

In some cases recent epigraphical study compels adjustment in Gomme's phraseology. He could not know, for example, of Meritt's convincing demonstration that *I. G.*, I², 68/69 (pp. 343-4) concerns Boiotian refugees after the battle of Delion (424/3). Meritt has also shown that *I. G.*, I², 931 and 932 belong to a single monument set up to the Argives who fell at Tanagra (not to separate memorials to the Argives and Kleonaians; Gomme, p. 316). Raubitschek has now given reason for restoring Ἐν Ἀλ]όπει rather than Ἐν Σιν]όπει

¹¹ For an excellent illustration see Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 115-29.

¹² Meritt has been generous enough to confirm the reading for me from a squeeze in Princeton.

¹³ It would be preferable to write (p. 273) that the tribute was suspended, rather than abolished, in 414/13; collection, we now know, was resumed in 410/09. A more careful distinction between assessment and payment might be made on p. 357; the conclusion drawn is probably right but since we have no fragments of the assessments between 454/3 and 425/4 the epigraphist (cautious, as Gomme would prefer) hesitates to make assertions concerning absentees from lost assessment lists.

in *I. G.*, I², 944 (Gomme, p. 367).¹⁴ I do not know why Gomme (p. 273) is so uncertain of the date at which the ταμειὸν was transferred to Athens and the quota to Athena instituted. On p. 240, n. 1, *I. G.*, I², 60 is inaccurately quoted (for κ]ατὰ read κα]τὰ); "to determine a city's tribute" (p. 272) should be referred to *A. T. L.*, I, p. 456, and List 25, III, 54.

On the question of the missing quota record (What is its date? Was it ever inscribed? If so, where?) I shall here say merely that, unlike Gomme (pp. 371, 468), I agree with Meritt's formidable epigraphic arguments (that the missing year is the sixth, 449/8 B. C.; that Dow's belief in a lost list once inscribed on the First Stele is untenable).

Correcting the proof of such a book is a most difficult task and a good many errors have been overlooked. These, no doubt, Gomme will wish to note, and I therefore append a rather lengthy list.

Errors in accent occur on pp. 103 (τεττίγες), 113 (εἰκόσι), 181 (Χεῖμειον), 218 (το), 232 (κεκαινώται), and 246 (εἰμί). The English should be adjusted on pp. 8 (n. 1, read "and" for "with"), 13 (noun missing in line 2), 39 (read "is" for "are" in line 19), 250 (read "were" for "was" in line 10), 331 ("a series . . . were"), 343 (singular Ἐφεσις has a plural verb), 400 ("figures . . . is confused"), and 445 (read "which" for "what" in line 24). "Tendentious" is misspelled on p. 407 and "Pac." appears for "Pax" on p. 5. I have marked various lapses in punctuation, the most important of which may be found on pp. vi (line 3), 7 (n. 1, line 12), 134 (line 8), and 290 (line 14).

The recent appearance of Volumes II and III of Jaeger's *Paideia* makes necessary the addition of Vol. I to Gomme's citations (pp. 90, 131, 145, 152). In the second paragraph of the note on I, 41, 2 (p. 175) the dates are wrong and the cross-reference is inaccurate. The reference on p. 199 should be to the map facing p. 220. Inconsistencies have eluded the author's eye on pp. 51 (read "*Alkib.*" for "*Alc.*" and "*Alcib.*"), 53 (n. 4, line 3, read "Themistokles"), and 194 (read "left" for "right" in line 7). Other lapses remain uncorrected on pp. 6 (Nikias did not invade Corinth), 42 (n. 5, "himself"), 51 (hyphen missing in n. 2), 78 (πρόπαιον), 83 (line 8), 238 (line 5, article omitted), 248 (ὑμέτερον), 286 (read "lists" for "list" in line 6), 316 (line 7), 324 (read "prevent" for "present"), 348 (read "made" for "make"), and 395 (seasonal indication of date absent for the secession of Thasos).

As against the solid achievement of this book, my criticisms and differences of opinion must not occupy too large a place. If Gomme has not solved all the problems he has assuredly cast new light upon them and moved us a long step nearer the truth in a great many instances. All scholars interested in the period, I might almost say in the achievement of Hellas, so broad is the volume, will henceforth turn to Gomme's work. We may eagerly await Volumes II (the Archidamian War) and III (the rest of the *History*), for which our appetite has already been whetted by the tantalizing cross-references

¹⁴ Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV (1945), pp. 105-15 and 134-47; Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII (1943), pp. 25-7.

in Volume I. We are promised discussion of such vital subjects as the assessment of 425 B. C., Athenian finances, and Athenian policy towards walled cities. The Appendix to the final volume will include Gomme's conclusions on the date of composition of the *History*. The author discusses the text and refers to the manuscripts freely in Volume I, not hesitating to suggest emendations; I hope that the finished work will find room for an account of the manuscripts.

Gomme's previous publications have accustomed us to his penetrating historical insight and his lively style. The latest product of his pen does not disappoint; rather, it marks (as does Finley's *Thucydides* in a different way) a brilliant forward stride in Thucydidean studies. The reviewing of the book has been a thoroughly enjoyable task.

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Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXXV (1944). Edited by W. E. BLAKE. Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press Inc.; Oxford, B. H. Blackwell Ltd. Pp. v + 241 + lxxiv. \$4.00.

The papers in the seventy-fifth volume of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* were presented at the meetings in December, 1944, during one of the darker periods of the war, at the time of the final German attempt to break out from Allied encirclement on the western front. No indication of the strain under which the nation was then laboring appears in this volume. Many classical scholars were away in the armed forces or other war service; those who attended the meetings were undoubtedly each doing something extra on the home front. Among war's distractions, it is very creditable that time, thought, and energy could be found to prepare papers which are as good as those of former years. It is, moreover, evidence of the strength and sincerity of American scholarship that this volume could be produced by private enterprise and free from any reflection of political or propagandist pressure.

The fifteen papers in this volume range from the simply informative to the acutely critical. At one end of the scale might be placed V. B. Schuman's publication of *Two Greek Ostraca*, in themselves of no great significance and merely contributing a little more evidence for the economic structure of Roman Egypt. Still technical, but of somewhat wider interest and certainly of deeper scholarly and critical character, is, for instance, E. J. Bickerman's analysis of Polybius' text of *An Oath of Hannibal*, in which he proves that this Greek version reflects a Punic original. Possibly the most general in scope and appeal of the articles is B. N. Hedberg's discussion of *The "Bucolics" and the Medieval Poetical Debate*. She seeks to show that the mediaeval *conflictus* had other sources in classical literature than the Vergilian eclogue. The above are singled out not as necessarily of more significance than the other articles, but

simply to illustrate their technical character. To review adequately so wide a variety of specialized studies would require an encyclopaedic familiarity with classical scholarship. Such a review, moreover, might add something here and there but would conclude that the various papers represent solid contributions to classical scholarship, though the scope of each is restricted. The titles of the papers, appended to this review, will suffice to indicate the range of subjects covered.

There is, however, a more general aspect under which this volume of the *T. A. P. A.* may briefly be reviewed. Even though the publication of a volume of technical studies in the midst of a war be regarded as a tribute to the ability of the authors to "carry on" in the belief that the permanent values of scholarship must not be lost sight of amid temporary pressures, nevertheless this volume, representing the discussions of American classical scholars at their annual meeting, might well justify to an outside observer the common charge that the classics have lost their vitality. When any professional group talks together, it is likely to deal mostly with technical problems of no general interest to the layman. But, as one colleague expressed it at the 1945 meeting, one would expect to find, if not some allusion to the contemporary world, at least some papers which raised the discussion above the minutiae to the great and enduring thoughts and values which the study of the classics is supposed to foster. Besides settling "*Hoti's* business," modern grammarians might also consider truth and beauty. This possible criticism was expressed more concretely in K. von Fritz's article in this *Journal* (LXVII, pp. 97-102) entitled "'Democracy' in Classical Research." He took issue with A. E. Raubitschek's statement, in his review of *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV, in this *Journal*, LXVI (1945), pp. 330 ff., that "no paper should be printed (in the *T. A. P. A.*) which did not serve or could not have served as the manuscript for a lecture of twenty minutes." von Fritz pleaded for an opportunity for younger scholars to publish papers of "monograph" length which, if not new interpretations of whole fields, might at least be chapters of such new interpretations and not simply footnotes thereto. Incidentally he argued for sessions at the meetings of the *A. P. A.* at which larger issues might be discussed. The volume of the *T. A. P. A.* under review certainly lays itself open to von Fritz's criticism both, as indicated above, because of the highly technical character of its papers, and also as regards their length, since the fifteen articles cover two hundred and forty-one pages, or an average of slightly more than sixteen pages each—just about right for a twenty minute presentation.

von Fritz's two pleas are not necessarily interdependent. The question whether the *T. A. P. A.* should be devoted to the publication of short papers or should afford space for longer "chapters" is a practical one which depends in part on the degree to which the *T. A. P. A.* should actually reproduce what takes place at the meetings and in part on their relation to the general field of classical periodicals in the U. S. From a bibliographical point of view, it might seem more logical for the papers here gathered together without any except the most general unity, that of classical scholarship,

to be published in the various more specialized philological, archaeological, or mediaeval journals. That, however, would only make the bibliographical problem one degree simpler and in fact, since the same reading public follows both the *T. A. P. A.* and the other classical journals, a given article will probably reach those interested in it as easily through the *T. A. P. A.* as through a slightly more specialized medium. Conversely, if the *T. A. P. A.* are opened to longer articles not actually presented, they will cease accurately to represent the meetings. Actually, the situation with regard to longer articles is not so desperate as von Fritz fears; apart from the Harvard, Yale, and California *Studies* which he mentions, *A. J. P.* has published such articles in parts and the *Memoirs* of the American Academy in Rome before the war frequently devoted a whole number to a single study. If further opportunity is desired, the proper medium would be not the *T. A. P. A.* but the Committee on Monographs of the American Philological Association, which has in the past published such shorter monographs as Forbes' *Neoi* (pp. 75).

No unanimous agreement, probably, can be reached as to the best program for the meetings. It would be a pity if younger scholars were deprived of the opportunity to prove themselves before their colleagues or were forced to present abstracts of longer papers or to participate in general discussions which would not give them an opportunity to show their scholarly promise. Fruitful attempts have been made in recent years to have general discussions. von Fritz refers to that of a few years ago on the introduction of the alphabet into Greece, a subject which, though technical, had a wide appeal and gave ample scope for debate. In the 1945 meetings, the papers on the future of various disciplines showed that there is still much room for fruitful scholarship along new and significant lines. The talks on the effect of the war on classical sites, presented under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute, indicated a definite interest in contemporary events. Often programs of this sort are not adapted to formal publication, and it would be a mistake to feel that their value can be measured in terms of concrete conclusions on printed pages. The presidential addresses at the meetings have traditionally been occasions on which mature scholars could present either a well-rounded chapter of research or reflections on "truth and beauty." One difficulty with attempting to introduce forums, as suggested by von Fritz, after the model of those of the American Historical and Political Science Associations, is that while contemporary events give a wide opportunity for honest divergence of opinion about such topics as the New Deal, the major points of view with respect to classical studies have become so settled by the centuries of criticism and evaluation to which they have been subjected that major controversial issues are much harder to find. A discussion of the relative merits of Catullus and Horace as lyric poets is conceivable; a scholar, however, who undertook to support the thesis that Plato's political philosophy is that of the totalitarian state might make a case but would probably be regarded by his colleagues as unsound.

The volume of the *T. A. P. A.* under review, therefore, affords no answer to the difficulties raised by von Fritz. It is a worthy repre-

sentation of the vigor of American classical scholarship under war conditions, but it will appeal only to the profession and bring no profound awakening to "truth and beauty" in the intellectual life even of that profession. The Program and Publications Committees of the Association will undoubtedly give full consideration to von Fritz's pleas. It should be feasible, without cutting down too much on the presentation of short papers, to find room for more general and controversial topics at the meetings. Certainly provision should be made, if needed, for the publication somewhere of those new chapters which von Fritz feels cannot at present see the light.

CONTENTS OF *T. A. P. A.* LXXV (1944)

TRANSACTIONS

- I. Cicero's House and *Libertas*, by Walter Allen, Jr.
- II. Athens and Halikyai, by Anthony E. Raubitschek.
- III. What are *teretis plagas*? (Horace, *Odes* 1.1.28), by William Hardy Alexander.
- IV. The Dance of the Ancient Mariners, by Lillian B. Lawler.
- V. Pythagorean Communism, by Edwin L. Minar, Jr.
- VI. The *Bucolics* and the Medieval Poetical Debate, by Betty Nye Hedberg.
- VII. Two Greek Ostraca, by Verne B. Schuman.
- VIII. Where are the Prickings?, by Leslie Webber Jones.
- IX. An Oath of Hannibal, by Elias J. Bickerman.
- X. The Mozarabic Hymnal, by Ruth Ellis Messenger.
- XI. Ictus, Accent, and Statistics in Latin Dramatic Verse, by Kenneth M. Abbott.
- XII. The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples, by Cornelia C. Coulter.
- XIII. Medical Terminology in Tragedy, by Harold W. Miller.
- XIV. The Meaning and Use of *Sed Enim*, by Joseph Fontenrose.
- XV. The Characters of the *Eclogues*, by E. Adelaide Hahn.

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REV. PHILIP V. BAGAN, O. S. B. The Syntax of the Letters of Pope Gelasius I. Washington, D. C., The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1945. Pp. xxiii + 231. (*The Catholic Univ. of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature*, XVIII.)

At about the time when Cassiodorus ingenuously made the famous indictment of his age by remarking, "Truly it is a glorious art to be able to write correctly what you have to say and to read properly what has been written," that veteran educator reported that he had reading dialectic with him Dionysius Exiguus, a monk who is described as "*utraque lingua valde doctissimus*." It is from this learned pupil and able critic that we have the fullest and most

satisfactory account, the only contemporary evaluation of the career and works of Pope Gelasius I. As a scholar he pays high tribute to the Pope's "eruditio" and scholarly attainments. Cassiodorus too testifies to Gelasius' reputation for learning when he says that lesser figures seeking prestige for their own writings sometimes attributed them to the Pope. The author of the biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* comments upon Gelasius' "careful language" and "eloquent epistles." Later biographers claim for Gelasius the distinction of having been the most prolific writer of all the Popes of the first five centuries.

Originally the writings of this militant champion of the rights of the Chair of Peter comprised letters, prefaces, collects, hymns, theological treatises, and pontifical pronouncements. Unfortunately comparatively little of all this has come down to us, but the surviving epistles and treatises well deserve the attention of the philologist as they have long since received the consideration of the historian. An auspicious beginning to a systematic linguistic study of these works has been made in a dissertation on *The Syntax of the Letters of Pope Gelasius I* by Rev. Philip V. Bagan, O. S. B., which appears as volume XVIII in the Catholic University of America series of *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature*.

Father Bagan has limited his study to the thirty-seven authentic epistles and the extensive fragments of epistles which are considered genuine. Although he has had, of necessity, to use the only complete edition, Thiel's *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae* as a basic text, for the letters published by Guenther in the *Collectio Avellana* (C. S. E. L., XXXV) and by Schwarz in his *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma*, he has relied upon the text of these newer, more critical editions. The investigator's purpose has been to make a thorough and systematic examination of the syntax of the letters in the light of the development of the Latin language.

Employing the general methods established by the Catholic University Latinists, Father Bagan has presented the results of his research in clear, logical sequence, supporting his statements by complete statistics and illustrating them with abundant examples. For every category, even to the smallest subdivision, he has cited and documented the usage, corresponding or divergent as the case may be, in Classical, in Silver Age, and in Late Latin prose authors. Unfortunately the work is not so admirable in substance as in form. In classifying grammatical constructions, the author tends to force doubtful cases into conventional patterns. Further, one challenges his cataloguing of a goodly number of examples. In other instances he has quoted insufficient text to allow one to make any judgment.

The conclusions which are drawn from the mass of statistics in the main part of the monograph are of significance. It becomes clear that, judged solely by his syntax, Gelasius was a very conservative writer, using few features of Late Latin prose, but rather looking back to the usages of Cicero and Caesar and the best writers of the Silver Age. Hence "his syntax is highly artificial and indicative of the fact that he must have been thoroughly trained in the Classical tradition of the most conservative rhetorical schools."

That final judgment, fully supported as it is by the author's tabulations, may be somewhat surprising to anyone who is familiar with Gelasius only through his warm and lively letter *Adversum Andromachum* on the urgent necessity for suppressing the pagan festival of the Lupercalia. It should serve to point up the need for a complete study of the style of Gelasius' works. Wölfflin's article "Der Papst Gelasius als Latinist" (*Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, XII, pp. 1-10) has suggested a number of problems connected with the vocabulary of the letters which require consideration. Such questions as Gelasius' use of prose rhythm, the influence of the Scriptures on his style, his knowledge of Greek, and Greek mannerisms in his writings need to be investigated. When this has been done, with the present study on syntax, there should be sufficient material for evaluating the position of Gelasius in Latin letters. The data thus assembled could serve immediately the very utilitarian purpose of settling the disputed question as to whether or not Gelasius was responsible for the composition of the letters of his predecessors, Pope Simplicius and Pope Felix III.

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L. P. WILKINSON. *Horace and his Lyric Poetry*. Cambridge, At the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. ix + 185. \$2.75.

This interesting little book takes as its central theme the thought that Horace can best be understood in the light of his *humanitas*, a quality which in Horace is closely linked to his unique, self-inclusive sense of humor. After a brief introductory chapter, and a short account of the poet's life and works, Wilkinson shows how Horace's *humanitas* expresses itself in his character and views (Chap. III), and in his attitude to poetry (Chap. IV). He then attempts an interpretative study of the *Odes*, discussing Horatian form and going to some lengths to study the onomatopoeic qualities of Horace's language (Chap. V). The last two Chapters (VI and VII) deal with the art of translating Horace and with his *Fortleben*.

Lovers of Horace will most enjoy the third chapter, not because they will find in it anything new, but because they will re-discover with the author many a thought that has often crossed their own minds, but has been subsequently forgotten. They will appreciate the common sense with which Wilkinson explains Horace's tolerant attitude toward Augustus and his reforms, political and moral, and the skillful manner in which the author shows how Horace's enthusiasm for the beauties of nature is constantly tempered by his humor and his love of human kind. Wilkinson does well, too, in helping to dispel the illusion that Horace experienced a conversion in later life from Epicureanism to Stoicism: he began an eclectic, and an eclectic he remained to the end. One may be permitted to question Wilkinson's analysis of Horace's humor, not in his statement of its

fundamental nature, which is, as he says, a combination of "mock-solemnity" and "irony" (p. 59), but in his attempt to show how it operates in individual odes. Few will now disagree that *Integer vitae* is a humorous poem, but how many will see "Horatian bathos" (p. 62) and not ancient naiveté in the bird-metamorphosis of *Odes* II, 20, or misplaced levity, and not a similar naiveté, in the figure of fish marooned in the trees by the Flood, *Odes* I, 2 (p. 63)?

The fourth chapter centers around a study of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, as a convenient way of examining his attitude toward poetry. Wilkinson has demonstrated the importance of rhetoric in Horace's concept of poetry and in one place neatly summarizes his qualities: "With most good poets there is an abundance of feeling, and they are successful only when they succeed in subjecting it to the stringencies of form. With Horace the order and faultless economy are always there, and he had at his beck and call every device of style; but it required an intensity of feeling above his normal state to quicken his verse into real poetry" (p. 93). One misses a fuller discussion of the *recusatio*, which Wilkinson appears to ascribe to a sort of poetic inferiority complex (p. 94). This is certainly not the whole story, nor even a substantial part of it. For all the faults of *Altertumswissenschaft*, with its over-emphasis on external and concomitant fact (or fancy) as a basis for interpretation, it is a mistake to restrict oneself, as Wilkinson has done here, to a literal reading and acceptance of what the poet himself says.

In one further particular Wilkinson, it seems to me, is wide of the mark. He allows a hoary cliché, to the effect that Alexandrianism is necessarily decadence, to lead him into making the absurd statement that "It was a peculiar feature of Roman literature that it had a period of decadence before reaching maturity" (p. 116). There was nothing decadent about the neoterói, for all Cicero's sneer at them. They were students of form, experimenters in form, not slavish imitators, and the Augustan Age would never have accomplished what it did without their work. Fortunately for the value of his discussion, Wilkinson does not persist in his error, but goes on to prove that Alexandrian poetry was not decadent. He even claims Horace as a disciple of the Callimachean school (p. 119), a statement the evidence for which should be subjected to careful study.

Chapter V, on the Horatian Ode, carries with it far less conviction than the earlier parts of the book, perhaps because here Wilkinson is dealing so largely with matters of feeling and opinion. In his discussion of the form of the Ode, he has not got to the bottom of the problem at all, else he could never have made the observation (on *Odes* I, 9) that "the poem, then, is not intentionally formless" (p. 131). It is not formless at all. Nor is its unity, as Wilkinson claims, a subtle thing, derived "from the undercurrent of nature-symbolism" (*ibid.*). It consists rather of a central thought, a *gnomé*, expressed in v. 13:

Quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere.

Rising toward this central point are a series of "winter-figures" (vv. 1-12) drawn largely from nature; declining from it are a group of "summer-figures" drawn from the human sphere. Each figure

illustrates in some concrete way the principle proclaimed in the *gnomê*.¹ This pattern is to be found in many other Odes, for example II, 13, 18; III, 1, 2, 3, and a similar scheme is observed even in some of the lighter poems, e. g. III, 7, where vv. 21-22,

Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icarī
Voces audit adhuc integer,

serve to bind together the mythological *exempla* and the story of Gyges. (The key to the unity actually lies in the phrase *adhuc integer*.)

In point of fact, Wilkinson's chief fault throughout this chapter is over-subtlety. Do the intertwined branches of pine and poplar (*Odes* II, 3, 9-11) suggest "love-making" (p. 129), rather than just dense shade and a pleasant contrast in texture of foliage? And is Soracte (*Odes* I, 9) "symbolic of old age" (p. 130) and not just a striking feature of the Italian winter landscape? In an earlier passage (pp. 68-69), Wilkinson has warned us against searching too far for allegories in Augustan poetry: the fact that his own fancy leads him astray here shows how signally that admonition is needed.

To the extended discussion (pp. 136-143) of the onomatopoeic, or rather, musical qualities of Horace's language little objection can be raised, not because it is so convincing, but rather because the whole question is so subjective. Some can hear what Wilkinson hears, others cannot. To some, a line full of m's may suggest lumbering motion (p. 140) and "lingering double l's," hovering (p. 141); they may be able, too, to accept the author's interpretation of *Odes* I, 35, 13-16,² "'Aux armes, citoyens!' cries the mob, but the moderates, the solid molossus of 'cessantes,' hold it back at first, till with a second cry it sweeps them along in a torrent of dactyls" (p. 142). Wilkinson obviously is deeply conscious of this music, for he reverts to it again and again in his book.³ I shall have to confess myself a sceptic, for I find it hard to believe that Horace consciously wrote program music of this kind. Certainly to the casual, or even to the attentive reader, these sound patterns are not in themselves immediately apparent: one senses only that the language is pleasing to the ear. Horace was no Swinburne, nor was he a Richard Strauss, writing tone-poems which must be explained to the listener before he can see what the music is meant to express.

The last two chapters are good of their kind, but offer little of special interest. Wilkinson discusses some of the attempts to translate Horace into English, including Milton's famous rendering of *Odes* I, 5. His general conclusion is that few are qualified for the task. The remarks on *Fortleben* bring us an interesting account (pp. 162-5) of the expurgated and Christianized versions of Horace that were published from time to time by well-meaning moralists. There

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for this explanation to James Vincent Cunningham, of Stanford University.

² *neu populus frequens/ad arma cessantes, ad arma/concitet imperi-umque frangat.*

³ Pp. 37, 53, 90, 115.

are also some telling remarks on the weaknesses of Horace's imitators (p. 175), but the chapter, like so many epilogues, limps a little, and comes to a stop rather than to a conclusion.

No book is without its faults, least of all a book which attempts a re-interpretation of an author who has been interpreted as many times as has Horace. Yet it is probably true that the authors of Greece and Rome need re-interpretation in every generation, for to each one they have a different meaning and are read by each one in a different way and to a different purpose. Wilkinson has performed a needed task, and performed it honestly. He has gone back to his author and read him carefully and appreciatively, then he has told us what that reading revealed to him. We do not need to agree with his interpretations in order to enjoy them, and his book may well serve to remind us that the primary function of the classicist is to read and study the ancient authors and to interpret them as best he may for his own times.

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Word, Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York. Vol. I, No. 1 (April, 1945). Pp. 96.

Echoing *La Parole* with its excellent title *Word*, a new scientific periodical devoted to the study of linguistic science in all its aspects makes its bow under the date of April 1945.¹ It contains six scientific articles, an introduction, and a tail-piece, in all ninety-six pages, adequately, if not beautifully, printed. It is the journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York, the Cercle Linguistique de New York, founded in October 1943 by members of the Société de Linguistique de Paris who were connected with the École Libre des Hautes Études, and others.

Alf Sommerfelt (University of Oslo), "Les Questions linguistiques et la paix" (14 pp.): language and nationality, the perversions of linguistic and racial theory in the interests of nationalism which succeeded only because of ignorance of the social sciences.

Louis H. Gray (Columbia University), "'Man' in Anglo-Saxon and Old High German Bible-Texts" (ca. 13 pp.): German *man*, French *on*, is not a translation of Latin *homo*, and it is doubtful that *homo* had any influence on the development of these words. It is not necessary to think that *on*, at least in the impersonal and passive concepts, is largely of Germanic origin. The use of a word equivalent to "man," "mankind," as an indefinite pronoun arose independently in various languages, and enjoyed wide usage in Romance and Teutonic where it evolved independently.

Claude Lévi-Strauss (École Libre des Hautes Études), "L'Analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie" (21 pp.) (reviewed by Prof. Em. Clarence L. Meader, Dept. of General Linguistics,

¹ Published three times a year. Subscription \$3.00 per calendar year: École Libre des Hautes Études, 66 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y. Published by S. F. Vanni, 30 West Twelfth St.

Univ. of Michigan): It is the method of investigation employed in this article that will chiefly interest students of language. The author (an anthropologist) has performed a signal service to the social sciences by emphasizing the benefit that may accrue to workers in these fields through the use of structural analysis as a basis for inferences. As a concrete illustration he has made a study of the uncle-nephew problem and offers a new solution of it. Regardless of the validity or non-validity of his conclusions (it is for the anthropologist to judge this), the method is to be heartily commended. In fact, Lévi-Strauss might well have gone much farther and emphasized its value for all the sciences from physics to psychology. In the field of linguistics it has been applied with excellent results to problems of general semantics by Korzybski and many of his followers since 1933. Trubetskoy urged its application to phonology in the same year (see Lévi-Strauss, p. 35). Wittgenstein explained its application to real logic in 1918 (*Tractatus Logico-philosophicus*). It has been advocated at the University of Michigan in many courses in general linguistics, dynamic phonetics, semantics, hermeneutics, etc. since 1910. Indeed as early as 1903 the method is implied in Bertram Russell's *Principia Mathematica*. All knowledge is symbolic and structural relations are a *sine qua non* of symbolism.

C. F. Voegelin (Indiana University), "Influence of Area in American Linguistics" (5 pp.): diffusion vs. genetic relationship, phonetic and morphological.

Wolf Leslau (École Libre des Hautes Études), "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia, a Problem of Substratum" (24 pp.): the first general investigation of this subject. Some thirty features are listed, nearly all of which are certain.

1. Labiovelars, k^w , q^w , g^w , x^w , both phonemic and under the influence of u , unknown in other Semitic languages.

2. Prepalatals, \check{c} , \check{g} , \check{s} , \check{z} , \check{c}' , \check{n} , y , both phonemic and under the influence of i , e . (Many modern dialects of Arabic have *non-phonemic* palatalization, under the influence of front vowels, or total.)

3. Glottalized stops, s , t , q , p' , \check{c}' , phonemic only, made with an accompanying glottal stop, unknown in other Semitic languages, unless the Semitic "emphatics" were once glottalized, a theory for which there is some evidence. (In that case the Cushitic influence would have led to their preservation.)

4. Weakening of the glottalized stops to a glottal stop. (Very rare in the other Semitic languages. Modern Arabic ' for q probably occurs by acoustic error, the q having been a uvular stop pure and simple.)

5. Passage of \check{s} into \check{t} .

6. Spirantization of k , q , when single and between vowels or after a vowel. q is nowhere spirantized in other Semitic; but k and other stops are spirantized (secondarily, in Aramaic, and then in Hebrew).

7. $\nu\bar{e}$ and w_o for \bar{e} and o .

8. Pronunciation of Ethiopic e as i .

9. Indication of sex by the use of an appositive word such as "man," "woman," instead of an ending. (This is not a trait of the other Semitic languages, though, of course, it might occur occasionally anywhere. The only question is whether it is not equally non-Cushitic.)

10. Plural formed by repetition of a radical, limited in the other Semitic languages, hence here both ancestral and substratum influence.

11. Many nominal forms made with suffixes, the use of which doubtless spread by analogy.

12. Formation of intensive and attenuative adjectives by the repetition of a radical.

13. Distributive sense indicated by a partial repetition of the root.

14. Negative perfect and imperfect formed by prefix and suffix, found in Semitic otherwise only in modern Arabic dialects where it is certainly independent and relatively recent.

15. Expression of the relative negative clause by the negative jussive with the relative pronoun.

16. Expression of the gerundive by *ma-* prefixed to the first verb. But this is found in Akkadian.

17. Formation of the frequentative stem by the repetition of the antepenultimate radical with the vowel *a*.

18. Double prefix of the causative. (Doubtful.)

19. Compound descriptive verb consisting of an invariable element and the verb "to say" which is inflected.

20. Postpositions or supplementary postpositional elements.

21. Vocative particle suffixed to noun.

22. Verb at the end of the sentence, not at the beginning, or variable. Occurs in other Semitic languages only in Akkadian, and here it is due to Sumerian.

23. Position of the copula. The verb of identity and quality, "to be," is expressed by a variable demonstrative element at the end of the sentence. The other Semitic languages use either a personal pronoun or nothing at all, the personal pronoun being in free position.

24. Position of auxiliary verbs of time, after the principal verb, not before it, as in the other Semitic languages.

25. Position of the subordinate clause, before the principal clause, not after it, as in the other Semitic languages.

26. Position of modifying elements, before the modified, not after it, as in the other Semitic languages. These are the adjective, the relative clause, and the determinant of appurtenance.

27. Position of the demonstrative, before, or before and after the substantive. In the other Semitic languages it is placed before or after.

28. Nominal character of the relative clause, permitting it to take the definite article, the particle of direct complement, or the plural ending of the noun.

29. Loan-words: implements, clothing, animals, plants, numerals 1, 100, 10000, nouns of family relationship, geographical and astronomical terms, and other words.

30. Biliteral roots, by phonetic decay from earlier triliteral roots, under the influence of Cushitic preference for biliteral roots. (The other Semitic languages prefer triliteral roots, and contain many such which have been enlarged from biliterals doubtless inherited from an earlier stage of common Hamito-Semitic in which biliterals were preferred.)

Giuliano Bonfante (Princeton University), "On Reconstruction and Linguistic Method" (12 pp.): Not merely comparison but also the chronology of texts, the method of usual phonetic change, general linguistic evolution in morphology, syntax, phonology, and vocabulary, may be used as a method of writing the history of a language, of reconstructing its past.

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SISTER MILDRED DOLORES TOBIN, C. S. C. *Orientii Commonitorium*:

A Commentary with an Introduction and Translation. Washington, D. C., The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1945. Pp. xv + 143. (*The Catholic Univ. of America Patristic Studies*, LXXIV.)

By methodical linguistic analysis the author of this dissertation adds a link in the chain of studies of Late Latin language being forged at the Catholic University. Lists of all words rare or unknown in Classical Latin, together with notations about later appearances and some comment about change of meaning, cover diction. "The results indicate a remarkable similarity of language to that of the Augustan poets" (p. 29). The study of syntax is limited to listing syntactical combinations which differ from classical patterns as codified by Kühner-Stegmann and Leumann-Hofmann. Many of the listed items are primarily lexical. There is no mention of sentence patterns, possibly because they are so typically elegiac. Since the text survives in a single tenth-century MS, though a second was known and edited in the seventeenth century, not much can be said about orthography and sound-change. Beyond "observing that (the author's) prosody is remarkably classical in its correctness" (p. 5), Sister Mildred Dolores defers to a monograph of Bellanger for whatever might have been said about metrics. Based as they are on a single poem, the particular results of this linguistic study are of only passing interest to the general reader—a chiseled stone in a reconstruction yet formless.

Nonetheless, the book is decidedly useful. To the careful transcription of Ellis' text in the Vienna Corpus, which is not widely circulated, the author has added a translation, a select bibliography, and a list of sources. The artful translation succeeds in reproducing the commonplace turn of phrase and stylized imagery, while preserving the controlled dignity and sweet earnestness which rise above

the level of fifth-century authorship, if we exclude Prudentius and some of Paulinus. Though the poem of 518 elegiac distichs outlining Christian doctrine as the Bishop of Auch conceived it is a minor effort in intent and power beside, say, Sedulius, it represents to us an ecclesiastical view of the provincial twilight when the Goths had cracked but not yet crumbled the Roman world. As the terrors of the night approach, the good bishop can only glimpse the guttering candle and confess

dum non sentimus, lento consumitur igni (II, 205).

Though the translator's ear surely deceives her, as it does in other instances, when she hears in such lines an echo of Horace to Lydia, they are congealed in tradition. The schools of Gaul immobilized their students atop a slow-moving avalanche. Though the Church taught humility and even love, if St. Orens is representative, and marked out an eschatological channel of thought, the mind had no coin for dealing in faith or hope on which the coming generations must survive. Orientius' language still counts over ephemeral wealth. The linguistic conformity, here set forth in detail, shows how little one sober and lovable bishop had gone out to meet the new age.

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